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The Week

THE following is a passage from a private letter recently written by a neutral statesman who for more than four years handled the foreign affairs of his country and kept it out of the war:

> We hope most sincerely that President Wilson will come to Europe and will be able to influence the Associated Governments. Unless he comes the Associated Powers are "going to scrape the plate" and everything will be as before. Just now, we have received the details about the Austrian armistice. The conditions are not such as to warrant a hope for a stable peace. What is worse, unless we get an immediate and just peace, such as could be founded upon the basis of the famous fourteen points, Bolshevism pure and simple will triumph everywhere in Europe. This is a fact. The imminent peril of such a disaster, however, does not seem to be sufficiently grasped in those Associated countries that are separated from Europe by the sea or the ocean.

The writer of these words is not a radical or an alarmist. The suffering of his country guarantees his honest aversion to things German and to Teutonic methods. He was in the centre of things and had the best possible information constantly at his disposal. Those who regard Bolshevism as a private vice of Lenine, Trotzky, and other agitators, and who hope to turn the conference of Versailles into another Congress of Vienna, will do well to ponder his words.

THE news from Germany is still scanty, the daily dispatches chronicling little beyond a few important incidents. It seems apparent, however, that the political revolution continues to pursue an orderly course, and that while violence is widely threatened, actual outbreaks are rare. The formal abdication of the Kaiser removes an important legal obstacle to the reconstitution of Germany on other than a monarchical basis, if that is desired. What the new form of Government will be, however, is wholly a matter of speculation. The threatened breach between the People's Commissioners and the Soldiers' and Workers' Council appears to have been averted for the moment, but less by adjustment of conflicting claims to leadership than by the definite assertion of superior authority on the part of the Council, which has now become the chief administrative and executive body. All reports indicate a rapidly growing preponderance of soldier influence in the revolutionary Government, but the attitude of the workers in the large industrial centres is not yet clear, while from many of the states there have been no important reports at all. The attitude of the sailors, also, especially now that the surrender of naval vessels as stipulated in the armistice has been carried out, is another element of uncertainty. It is announced that the elections to the Constituent Assembly are to take place on February 16. This, however, is subject to the approval of a Soldiers' and Workmen's Congress which is to meet on December 16; and it is more than likely that, with the widespread demand for an early meeting of an Assembly and the probability that the terms to be imposed by the peace conference will be known before long, so late a date as February 16 may be considerably advanced. The two dangers which at the moment loom largest on the horizon are the threatened separation between the states of North and South Germany, under the lead of Prussia and Bavaria respectively, and the division among the Socialists. What the outcome will be in either case is only prophecy as yet.

THE reported presence of French troops in Budapest, though surprising, carries no obvious menace on its face just as Italian troops in charge of Rhenish bridgeheads would suggest no necessary ground for fear that the peace settlement would be deflected from the bases laid down by Mr. Wilson and accepted by the Allies. The occupation of Fiume and the Jugoslav shore of the Adriatic, on the other hand, does necessarily, in view of Italy's claims, create serious apprehension that the right of self-determination of nationalities, having been accepted in principle, will be thrown overboard in practice if practice happens to be inconvenient. Still more painful and more productive of anarchy, though perhaps less of a threat to a just settlement because an expression of less power, are the struggles of the resurgent nationalities to put themselves on the map at the point which they propose to hold. Poles and Ukrainians are reported to be making Lemberg a shambles in their struggle for Eastern Galicia, where the peasants are mainly Ukrainians, the landlords largely Poles, and the oil-wells his who gets them. A recent Vienna dispatch says that the various nationalities "appear unwilling to wait for the peace conference, thinking that what they are able to grab now they will be able to keep." If Mid-Europe is not to unscramble itself into a worse than Balkan chaos the Allies must act quickly, and must let it be clearly understood that the occupation of territory under orders of the Supreme Allied Council does not mean the ultimate determination of boundaries. Second, they must make it clear that any pushings and shovings in the period between the signing of the armistice and the definitive conclusion of peace will not aid the claims of the aggressors. *Beati possidentes* embodies an outworn political philosophy.

LITTLE additional information about the *coup d'état* at Omsk has come to hand, and the Russian situation is still largely veiled in obscurity. Washington is reported to be still a good deal in the dark regarding conditions at Omsk, although there is an effort to make it appear that the unexpected ascendency of General Kolchak is favorable to the Allies. It is not, apparently, favorable to the Czecho-Slovaks in Siberia, who are still waiting for the long-expected aid from the Allies, and who are not greatly cheered by Dr. Masaryk's appeal to hold on and wait for help. It is now said that no supplies from America have yet reached the Czecho-Slovak front. The report, credited to Czecho-Slovak sources, that the Bolsheviki have ordered a general mobilization, that they are well organized and clothed, that they will have from three to four million men under arms by spring, and that large numbers of Germans and Austrians

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are joining them, bodes ill for peace if the Allies and the United States persist in military intervention. In the North an American force, although shut in for the winter and encountering difficulties in the matter of supplies, appears to be holding its own and even to be making some advance southward. Reports from the Ukraine indicate a continuance of the anti-Bolshevik revolt and a growing demand for independence, for both of which movements Allied support is being sought. The most disturbing news from Russia is that its representatives at the peace conference, if any are admitted, will probably be the so-called Russian Ambassadors at Washington, London, and Paris. It should interest the American public to learn, as was announced the other day, that the Government has actually gone into business in Siberia, and that three cargoes, consigned to a trading "corporation" which the Government has created, are on their way to Vladivostok.

THE veil which has been drawn over the face of the world's news for the past four weeks, so far as American newspapers are concerned, is so large and heavy as to suggest either that the American public does not care to know what is going on outside of the United States, or else that a rigorous censorship is still maintained. One would suppose that at this moment of all others, with a peace conference about to open and the reconstruction of the world the one overshadowing interest, the larger metropolitan dailies at least would regularly lay before their readers as comprehensive a record as possible of current happenings. What we are getting, in the main, is a little general information about the political struggles in Germany and Austria-Hungary, and the welcome extended to American troops in devastated France and Belgium, and speculations as to how President Wilson will be received. It does not seem to occur to most American editors that the reorganization of the Central Powers, epoch-making as it will undoubtedly be, is nevertheless not the only current matter of international concern. So important an event as the coming Parliamentary election in Great Britain, for example, has received relatively small attention from the American press. Ireland is seething with political excitement beyond its wont, India is moved from end to end by controversy over the proposed governmental reforms, Australia is deep in a labor struggle and restive over the possible disposition of the German colonies, and in Canada dissatisfaction with the Borden Government is widespread and outspoken. Why do we get so little news about what is going on in the British Empire—the nation above all others with which we have the closest ties and regarding which we ought to be best informed? There has been almost no news from France since the armistice, save stories of jubilation or speculations about the peace conference; and there has been less from Italy. Of conditions in Spain, where Washington observers are quoted as looking for another revolution, the American public knows next to nothing. So of Greece, and Turkey, and Sweden, of China and Japan, and of Russia. The history of South America for the past month is summed up, so far as most of our papers are concerned, in a quarrel between Chili and Peru and a political controversy in Argentina. How is the United States to play the great part in the world for which it seems to be destined if its people are not kept properly informed about current events, and how is it to be informed if the press remains provincial?

THE question of the mouth of the Scheldt is an inheritance from the year 1648 and the Peace of Westphalia. The war between Spain and her rebellious Dutch provinces was over. Spain had lost and Holland had won. To prevent further attacks upon England and Holland and to ruin her powerful commercial rival in the Catholic South, the Protestant North closed the Scheldt. Two centuries later Antwerp was once more given free access to the North Sea. The mouth of the Scheldt, however, remained in Dutch hands, a provision which in our own day prevented the Germans from following Napoleon's example and using this harbor as a naval base against England. None the less, the question of a divided river is a complicated affair. and the coming peace conference will have to settle the Scheldt problem with justice to both sides. The oft-repeated Belgian demand that a piece of territory be torn off from Holland's southern provinces to bring the Scheldt entirely into the hands of the Belgian kingdom has never had the support of King Albert or his councillors. It is inconceivable that a nation which for four years has enjoyed an unprecedented hospitality within the borders of a sister state, would repay this debt of gratitude by an unwarranted demand for a slice of that neighbor's territory.

THE vexed question of the Canadian public lands is at last taking a hopeful turn. The inciting occasion is the widespread demand that the extensive public domain in the western Provinces shall be made available on easy terms for returned soldiers, large numbers of whom, it is believed, will be glad to turn to agriculture if Government lands can be had at a fair price and with reasonable conditions of payment. There is also involved, however, the question of returning to the Provinces some of the lands now administered by the Dominion Government. A recent meeting of the premiers of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia resulted in a request that Premier Borden arrange for an early conference at which the transfer to the Provinces of school lands, natural resources, and school land funds should be considered. In Saskatchewan, the proceeds of sold school lands, now held in trust by the Dominion Government, amount to $4,000,000, while $6,600,000 is due to the Dominion Government by purchasers of school lands whose payments are not yet complete. In addition, the Province has 7,270,000 acres of unsold school lands, the surveyed portion of which, about 3,000,000 acres, has an estimated value of $40,000,000. The demand for the relinquishment to the Province of lands containing minerals or other specially valuable natural resources may involve the discontinuance of an annual Dominion subsidy now amounting, on the basis of population, to $562,000; but it is pointed out that the subsidy may be regarded only as proper interest upon the $12,000,000 worth of provincial lands which the Dominion Government has disposed of since 1905. In British Columbia, where the control of great areas of valuable land by speculators has long been a crying evil, the tracts so held are being appraised, and the owners are to be required to offer them for sale at the appraised valuation, with a penalty in the shape of heavy taxation in case of refusal. According to a recent statement of the Provincial Minister of Lands, this will enable a soldier to buy for $500, of which only $78 will have to be paid down, a quarter section of land now valued at about $1,260. In addition, considerable tracts of free land are to be set apart for soldiers.

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THE Finance Committee of the Senate has incorporated in the war revenue bill an amendment levying a prohibitive excise tax of ten per cent. on products of child labor. The Federal Child Labor Act of 1916, declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court last June, was regarded by the Court as an invasion of State rights. The power, however, to levy taxes is held in common by both the States and the Federal Government. Moreover, it has been well established that the purpose of a tax need not be the raising of revenue; state bank notes, artificially colored oleomargarine, and poisonous phosphorus matches were taxed out of existence. It is important that some legislation be passed immediately, whether it be called a war or a reconstruction necessity; for the Children's Bureau now states that the setting aside of the Federal law, together with war's demands upon industry, has re-established the long work day for children. In North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia an eleven-hour day and a sixty-hour week are general, and in the former State children from five to fourteen years old were found employed more than eight hours a day. Inspections of 270 canneries in Maryland and Virginia showed 1,094 children under fourteen at work, living in camps under conditions generally bad. Higher pay for the school teacher apparently also has a direct bearing upon the increased number of children in industry. Because of the exodus of 40,000 teachers to better paid tasks, hundreds of school houses have been closed. The "back to the school" drive recently undertaken by the Children's Bureau will prove of little use unless teachers can be found. Government executives, during the war, have stood consistently against child labor, and the War Labor Policies Board has prohibited the employment of children in government contract work. The proposed amendment is regarded by its sponsors as better designed than the Keating bill introduced in the House last September as a war measure to withstand the test of another Supreme Court decision. It is interesting to note also that recent resolutions passed by the first convention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, include a demand that no article be shipped or delivered in international commerce in the production of which children under sixteen have been permitted to work.

THE budget of New York has a perennial interest for the people of the whole country. Only at Washington is legislation framed involving a public expenditure so immense; while the City of New York will make appropriations for 1919 amounting to $239,502,805, New York State will spend about $81,000,000. A study of the city's budget, undertaken for the seven Socialist Aldermen by their Bureau of Research, shows that while appropriations for 1919 will exceed those of the present year by nearly ten million dollars, yet in view of increased costs the Tammany Administration has accomplished what amounts to a reduction. Unfortunately the result has been achieved, not so much by the elimination of useless activities as by a wholesale reduction in the services rendered to the people of New York. The services reduced have almost invariably been those which most directly minister to the needs of the people, or which make for real economy and efficiency in the city's business. The Tenement House Department, for example, loses ninety-five employees; fifteen social investigators are dropped in the Board of Child Welfare, while over one hundred physicians, inspectors, internes, and nurses are cut off from the Health Department. Appropriations for home placement of children are reduced more than fifty per cent. from 1918. Libraries, museums, and other institutions for public enlightenment suffer uniform curtailment. The salary increases granted to low-paid employees, on the other hand, are wholly inadequate to meet increased living costs. The whole budget shows a policy cramped and narrow; it seems to set a low tax rate above human welfare, and sets a bad example to other cities at a time when they need to be learning the lesson of increasing the services they perform for their citizens.

THE worm will turn, and even the long-suffering college professor will at length bite the hand that feeds him. Two years ago, when the Carnegie Foundation announced the practical withdrawal of the pension plan inaugurated with such a flourish of trumpets a decade earlier, a committee of the American Association of University Professors reported that the Foundation was under moral, if not legal, obligations "not to deprive teachers in the accepted institutions of their present expectancy of a pension." It declared that "the unfortunate financial history of the Foundation" and other errors "have resulted in a loss of confidence in the Foundation on the part of American University teachers." Thereupon the Foundation proceeded to compound its existing obligations and to incorporate the Teachers' Insurance and Annuity Association of America, for the purpose of substituting a contributory and compulsory system of annuities in place of the practically defunct pension scheme. On the basis of the plan foreshadowed in statements of President Pritchett, the editor of *School and Society* has just taken a poll of representative professors, with the following result: 11 found the Carnegie plan satisfactory; 477 believed it desirable to consider alternative plans under the control of the teachers concerned; and 87 were not prepared to express an opinion. Whether the professors will accept the scheme as finally formulated remains to be seen; but in any case this overwhelming and well-deserved vote of lack of confidence in the Foundation is a striking rebuke to the autocratic and disingenuous methods it has employed in the entire pension business.

THERE is a rumor in musical circles that the New Orleans Opera House may reopen with a short mid-winter season. It is worth while reminding ourselves occasionally that New Orleans was the first American city to establish opera permanently, and the first to introduce French and Italian opera into America. Opera was given in New Orleans when Washington was President. Adelina Patti sang there in "Robert," "Charles VI," "Dinorah," and other operas, in 1861, when she was eighteen years old; and according to an advertisement which promises that she will do "Within a mile of Edinboro' Town" from the lesson scene in the "Barber," prices ranged from fifty cents to $1.50. It is not generally known that most of the important *premières* have taken place there; and many operas which are unknown in other American cities have been kept in the repertoire at New Orleans—such as "Cenerentola," "Salammbô," "Siberia," "La Reine de Saba," "Sigurd," and "Don Quichotte." The history of opera in New Orleans would require a considerable volume and would be well worth writing. There are not so many centres of spiritual activity in the United States that we can afford to lose the record of one of them, especially one so eminent as the French Opera House in New Orleans.

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Crisis, Not Victory

THERE is no use in mincing matters in discussing President Wilson's annual message. Save in a few relatively unimportant respects, the message is disappointing. On none of the great issues which are before the country and the world, and in regard to which the attitude of the President is rightly looked upon as a factor of first-rate importance, has the message anything definite to say. Even the staunchest admirers of Mr. Wilson, the supporters who have stuck by him through thick and thin, must feel chagrin and humiliation that, in one of the greatest moments of our history, when it is supremely important that what is settled shall be settled right, the Chief Magistrate of the American people should on the one hand frankly confess that he does not yet know his own mind, at the same time that on the other hand he says nothing at all. Not even Mr. Wilson's unctuous insistence upon the rectitude of his own intentions, nor yet his frank intimation that, so far as he can see, the hope of a righteous outcome of the peace deliberations rests with him, will offset the clear indication that, so far as some of the most weighty domestic matters are concerned, he has no policy, and that on the weighty matter of peace his future course must be taken on trust.

Certain specific recommendations of the President, to be sure, are likely to meet with general approval. The immediate determination of the taxes that are to be levied for 1918, 1919, and 1920 will appeal to the business community and the public in general as wise and sound; and it is to be hoped that Congress will take the same view of it. The suggestion that Government control of food and shipping will have to be continued for a time after the peace, in order that the needs of suffering populations as well as the return of American troops from Europe may be provided for, is also beyond cavil. There will be no dissent, either, from Mr. Wilson's insistence that Belgium and France, the two countries whose industrial life has been most seriously shattered by the war, "should not be left to the vicissitudes of the sharp competition for materials and for industrial facilities which is now to set in." Of course the treaty with Colombia should be ratified, and that long-standing occasion of international irritation and misunderstanding removed.

These are not the supreme questions of the moment, however. The three issues which bulk largest in the public thought at this time, and the treatment of which will most vitally determine the course of American policy for years to come, are the railways, reconstruction, and the peace. On all three of these points the indecisiveness of Mr. Wilson's message is glaring. Ought we to have Government ownership of railways or not? "What is it right that we should do with the railroads," asks the President, "in the interest of the public and in fairness to their owners? "Let me say at once," he replies, "that I have no answer ready." The "only thing that is perfectly clear" to him is that "it is not fair either to the public or to the owners of the railroads to leave the question unanswered," and that it will become the President's duty to return the roads to their owners, "even before the expiration of the statutory period," unless "some clear prospect" of Congressional action presently appears. Congress will doubtless be grateful for the invitation to legislate, but what is to be thought of an executive leadership which, on the most crucial aspect of the wide question of Government ownership which has ever been presented to the country, offers no constructive suggestion even for debate?

So in the main, but with an important modification, is it with reconstruction. The one concrete proposal of the message is that public works, especially the reclamation of such public lands as are not now arable, may well be undertaken as a partial solution of the labor problem after the war. We are not at all certain that any large number of discharged soldiers will take kindly to the ditch-digging and stump-pulling which the Government is urged to offer them, even though the land is to be put upon the market on easy terms after it is ready for the plough. Beyond this particular alleviation, however, Mr. Wilson is not specific save in regard to administrative procedure. He makes it clear that reconstruction—the word itself is printed in quotation marks as if its connotation were dubious—is best to be carried on through existing executive agencies. This is plainly enough a repudiation of the suggestion of a reconstruction commission however constituted, and an indication of Mr. Wilson's purpose to keep the process of reconstruction in his own hands. What the goal is at which he is aiming, however, is not divulged.

It was everyway to be hoped that, on the all-important question of peace, Mr. Wilson's message would help somewhat to clear the air. What the President has to say, however, is more than disappointing. Not only does the message throw no new light whatever on what is likely to be done at the coming conference, but some of its statements raise disturbing questions. "The Allied Governments," Mr. Wilson declares, "have accepted the bases of peace which I outlined to the Congress on the 8th of January last," and "very reasonably desire my personal counsel in their interpretation and application." Is this the whole story? Have the Allied Governments ever accepted, in a way that any of them would regard as even morally binding, Mr. Wilson's fourteen points as anything more than an interesting statement of questions which may well be discussed? Have any of the Allied Governments ever expressed their "reasonable desire" for Mr. Wilson's "personal counsel" in the form of an invitation to attend the peace conference? Is it not rather the fact that Mr. Wilson goes to Europe at his own invitation, to save, if he can, some distinctive elements of his peace policy which are in jeopardy? If such is not the case, why does he dwell upon the transcendent importance of his mission, and his duty to see that the "bases" which he has laid shall have "no false or mistaken interpretation" put upon them?

Moreover, what are we to think of Mr. Wilson's unqualified endorsement of the programme for a huge American navy vastly too big for any purpose except war? Is Mr. Wilson to land at Brest whittling a big stick?

Mr. Wilson's message is the utterance of a great man with his back to the wall. The pressing issues of the war have left him no time to think of equally pressing domestic questions, nor has he been able to surround himself with the wise advisers whose ideas he might with propriety make his own. As to the future at home, accordingly, he has nothing of importance to communicate. His peace programme, on the other hand, framed before the United States entered the war, is apparently dividing the Allies instead of uniting them, and he must now throw his presence and his voice into the scale. The rhetoric of his message still wears something of its customary gilt and tinsel, but the substance which it ornaments is not victory, but crisis.

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Wanted: A Shipping Policy

THE attempt of a British syndicate to buy the fleet of the International Mercantile Marine Company, aggregating some 730,000 tons, the refusal of our Government to sanction the transfer, and the subsequent offer of the Government itself to buy the ships at the price offered by the syndicate, bring sharply to the front a highly important question to which a prompt answer ought to be forthcoming. Has the United States a shipping policy; and if so, what is it? We have great and growing foreign investments. We have a large overseas trade, capable of almost indefinite expansion. We shall soon have a huge merchant fleet. What are we to do with it? The American people are entitled to a clear and straightforward answer from their Government and from the great banking and business interests back of the present programme. The world is looking to the peace conference with a desperate hope that it may find some way of ending war. Are we, or are we not, planning to enter upon a policy in trade and shipping that will in the end make mock of the best intended peace compacts? We have the right to a frank answer.

At the outbreak of the war the world's shipping aggregated some 50,000,000 gross tons, of which about one-half was British. It grew normally at the rate of something over 2,000,000 tons a year. But the submarine campaign and other war exigencies set the world's shipyards into feverish activity, and the *Nautical Gazette* estimates that within three years, if every nation should carry out its announced shipbuilding programme, the world's tonnage will be not less than 75,000,000 tons. During October, with the submarines still at work, ship tonnage increased by nearly a half-million tons, and with plenty of steel available it will not be strange if the monthly increase rises shortly to a million tons. Are we not likely, then, to be entering an era of cut-throat competition on the ocean highways with all that it involves in the way of national rivalries and animosities? What is to be the attitude of the United States in this struggle? Does any one know?

During the months just past we have heard much talk of capturing the world's markets for the American manufacturer. It is the old evil imperialistic cry, and there is too little evidence that our business men have sensed the danger against which Chairman Colver, of the Federal Trade Commission, warned them in his recent address:

> A reconstruction programme for the United States looking to the building, on top of the present credit balances, of unending mountains of international credits will tend, not only to make the United States the most hated nation in the world, but to mark her for destruction. It means commercial imperialism.

Yet this is exactly what many of our business leaders want. They propose to pile on top of a high tariff extensive foreign investments, a great export trade, American ships to carry our goods to Europe, South America, and the East, and the world's greatest navy to make that shipping "safe" under any and all circumstances. No matter if the various parts of their programme are inconsistent; it contains within itself sufficient possibilities of mischief to fill the world with blood and tears for the next hundred years. Is it to this end that our present plans are being directed?

What conception of our relations to Great Britain and the British Commonwealth lies in the mind of those who are quietly shaping our destiny on the water? Discussion of the "freedom of the seas" has already shown how thorny the problem of Anglo-American relations may easily become if the shipping question is not handled with the greatest sympathy, tact, and understanding of England's peculiar position. Whoso touches Britain's shipping touches her most sensitive spot. We are far from suggesting that the seas must be left to the British, or that British views regarding sea power must prevail unmodified. On the contrary, we earnestly desire the United States to become, under proper conditions, a great maritime nation, and we hope for a genuine internationalization of the highways of commerce. But we do say that the man who deliberately or thoughtlessly jeopardizes the continued growth of cordial relations between the two greatest branches of the English-speaking peoples puts in hazard humanity's best hopes of progress in civilization. And we are confident that no more probable way could be devised of endangering those relations than for us incontinently or thoughtlessly to set about seizing for ourselves the supremacy of the seas. We are rich enough and powerful enough to give anxious thought to the question how we shall use our giant's strength. Why has our Government objected to the transfer of the International Mercantile Marine fleet? We do not criticise; we only inquire.

It is not problems of international relations alone that we face as we look forward to the future of our fleet. Who is to run our ships? Is the Government to own and operate them itself, despite the well-nigh unanimous judgment of practical shipping men? With the whole great question of permanent Federal ownership and operation of railways and wire lines the subject of earnest discussion, is it proposed to commit us out of hand to the even more experimental project of Government-owned and operated ships with all its economic, political, and international complications? If, on the other hand, the ships are to be turned over to private owners, what are to be the terms of the contract? Are we to sell outright or to lease? How are the ships to be manned? How are American owners to be enabled to meet the lower wage scales and other operating costs of Europe and Japan? Do we propose to subsidize our ships? What is to be the relation of shipping to railway rates? It has been suggested that one motive for Government operation of railways is the opportunity it would give to make domestic traffic pay the bills of export freight—to subsidize our shipping at cost of the domestic consumer.

If we have a shipping policy, let it be set forth. Let us be informed clearly and simply what our administrative agents are trying to accomplish. Is our shipping programme only part of a larger scheme to seize the lion's share of the world's trade? Let it be so stated; then we can build a huge navy and get ready for the inevitable war that will come when exploitation has done its perfect work. Or are we building a merchant fleet to help meet as cheaply as possible the world's need for goods, on the basis of competition only in service? Let us say so; let us serve notice on our own people that we propose no discrimination in favor of American merchants, American ships, or American goods. There is no middle ground. Let us have a clear declaration of aim by responsible authorities, and a comprehensible statement of the means proposed for attaining it. Then we can discuss the alternatives, make our choice, and shape our course like a democratic people. To-day in this particular we are blind followers of a leadership that guides us we know not whither.

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What Liberalism May Do

NOW that the war is over, special interests are losing no time and standing on no ceremony about declaring themselves. It is perhaps not very remarkable that the attention of group interests all over the world should now be focussed on the "swag"; *post proelia praemia* is still good, sound doctrine, and when subscribed to and maintained by the proper persons, most respectable. But what strikes one as a little extraordinary—considering all that has gone before—is the almost complete renunciation of pretence to the contrary. Masks drop off and formulae fall out of currency with an almost indecent haste. Unavowed motives underlying the war are becoming apparent, precisely as Lenine foretold before Brest-Litovsk. The scandalous and sinful Berlin-Bagdad conspiracy is to be replaced by the righteous and praiseworthy Bordeaux-Belgrade-Odessa project. Every commercial and industrial association, whether private or of a quasi-public character, is on the alert; every governmental agency among the belligerent nations seeks for advantage with all its strength. Well did Clemenceau say that it would be harder to adjust the peace than to win the war. *Ubicumque corpus fuerit, ibi congregabuntur et aquilae.*

With this selfish scramble of special interests, obviously, liberalism can have neither part nor lot. The scramble is as alien to the works and ways of liberalism as is war itself. It is already becoming too clear that for some time to come, as during the past four years, liberalism must be content to make a very inconspicuous figure upon the public stage; indeed, in its enforced non-participation in public affairs, it may read clear its own title to the heritage of liberal tradition. When Socrates was reproached for taking no interest in Athenian politics he remarked that it was in virtue of that very fact that he and his followers were really the best politicians of their time; and so, in truth, it turned out. Likewise now, liberalism, driven largely by circumstances, but largely too by its own incompetence, to content itself with a policy of inaction, can nevertheless do itself and the world the greatest possible service by using its leisure as a season of self-discipline and self-instruction, so that when it may act again it will know how to act, and when it may once more declare its principles it will have sound ones to declare.

To this end, it is the function of liberalism to watch and register the unfolding history of the deeds which have been committed in its name. We are told that this was a war for democracy: very well, by its fruits we shall know it. It is for liberalism relentlessly to trace and note its every reaction upon democracy the world over. We are told that it was a people's war: well, then, it is for liberalism to lay its finger upon each successive manifestation of result, for good or for evil, accruing to the peoples. We are, above all, told that it was a war for liberty: very well, liberalism will note the precise outcome of political, economic, and social liberty under it. We are told, finally, that the war was not due to a conflict of economic interests. We have been sternly forbidden to entertain the view that it was in any sense a bankers' or capitalists' war. Very well: it now becomes the function of liberalism to point out from time to time the marks that differentiate its practical outcome. Suppose that it had been a war of economic interests; suppose it had been conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity, in behalf of what (in the case of Germany) we have been taught to regard as a professional-criminal class comprising bankers, office-holders, war-traders and journalists; it is for liberalism to observe and say specifically and point by point how it would have differed, both in conduct and in result, from the actual accomplished fact.

So much liberalism may do, and it is a service of priceless value, and one that otherwise will not be performed. Liberalism may serve to quicken the memory of a generation that may find the exercise of memory a more or less inconvenient and disagreeable function. In so doing, too, liberalism will find itself wonderfully cleared and educated. "To act is easy," Goethe said; "to think is hard." Perhaps hitherto American liberalism has had all along rather more of a turn for the easier task. It has been dangerously easy to organize around some unrelated pragmatic of liberal doctrine, like anti-militarism, free-trade, free-speech, or what not, and press it out of perspective; or to employ some derived and conditional formula of liberalism as an absolute shibboleth. To establish oneself in a comprehensive philosophy of liberalism and above all to cultivate the essential temper of liberalism, is much more difficult; and just this is the nobler duty that now devolves upon liberalism. An uncleared and undisciplined liberalism has given none too good an account of itself in the emergency of war, and an uncleared liberalism will have as little of value to offer in the counsels of reconstruction and peace.

Soldiers Out of Hand

IT would be easy to attach undue significance to the soldier rioting which has been going on in New York and elsewhere; but it has been serious enough, and chiefly because of the silence of the officials who ought to deem themselves responsible for these happenings. The Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy have not found time for a single utterance condemning a lawlessness which not only gravely reflected upon the uniform, but even exasperated the Tammany Mayor and the police commissioner of New York to such an extent that they threaten to use machine-guns upon the uniformed rowdies. Not content with disorder of various kinds during the peace celebrations, these patriotic youths have been interfering with legitimate meetings, some Socialist, some non-Socialist, and, in their zeal to defend our liberties, have knocked down and badly injured citizens whose sole offence was a curiosity to know what was going on. White-haired women did not escape the insults of these protectors of democracy, many of whom were disgustingly drunk, in plain violation of the law, but were not arrested by either city or military police.

Whether all this was in accord with deliberate plans of those who thus made use of the soldiers for their own purposes, as many people believe, we cannot say; but it is perfectly obvious that the military and naval authorities showed no concern. It is true, moreover, that a slightly advertised meeting on the Russian situation received the attention of a uniformed crowd estimated at thousands, whose actions included the breaking of windows and the injuring of other property. A provost guard of 195 men for the entire metropolis was not reinforced and the commanding general seemed only mildly interested. In fact, the laxity of military discipline in the city is so obvious that Mayor Hylan was thoroughly justified in calling the attention of Wash-

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ington to the fact that the turning loose of thousands of discharged soldiers in the streets of New York may easily create a condition dangerous to the public peace. But even more significant than all this is the fact that these soldiers have nowhere been rebuked for interfering with the constitutional right of American citizens to assemble in public meeting and to discuss the state of the Union.

The red flag and the red necktie have been the chief excuse for these outbreaks. It has been represented to the soldiers that these are emblems of anarchy, or of a Bolshevism about which they know only that it is something occult, but very dreadful. In this they have been spurred on by a press which can no longer stir the blood of its readers by attacks upon German-language newspapers and uninterned aliens, or demand the execution of the first German spy to be caught. To attack Socialism and sympathizers with the Soviet Government of Russia is the latest pastime of the newspapers that have been seeking to enlarge their circulation by preaching hate and bitterness. As the *Nation* has pointed out, heretofore, the progress of these anti-Socialist pogroms is due in large part to our insularity. Few Americans are aware that long before the war Socialist influence was strong in many Governments abroad, and that the period has long passed when it was considered good sport in Europe to assail Socialists as destroyers of society. The *Nation* holds no brief whatsoever for their economic doctrines, but it does believe that the time has come in America to treat them with respect, to give them the freedom of the platform, and seriously to consider whether they can contribute anything to the creating of that better world for which we are all longing. It looks with the utmost regret upon any attempt to suppress them by force, and it is firmly of the belief that anti-red-flag laws and violent physical assaults upon the advocates of Socialist doctrine will serve only to increase the number of its adherents, and make the movement more bitterly hostile to our Government. The experience of other countries has abundantly shown the self-defeating character of every attempt at the suppression of opinion by violence.

For the moment, however, these political moves by men in uniform raise an interesting question as to the attitude of the returning troops. Will they prove to be a menace to our political liberties, or are they going to help us regain the republic which Mr. Hughes says we are in danger of losing while we save democracy across the sea? Two opinions are heard; the jingo press is certain that the returning soldiers will want to smash everybody and everything that does not absolutely fit in with things as they used to be; dissenters, critics, and anti-militarists are to be crushed out of hand by the conquerors of the Germans. On the other hand, men returned from France bring word of much stirring among our soldiers abroad, of freer speech among them than is tolerated here, and of a most earnest desire to hold our Government to its promise that this horror shall not occur again. Time alone will show what the psychology of the returning troops will be. If the spirit is to be that which has stirred the recent mobs—the militia in Minneapolis tore up banners asking for the early release of political prisoners—we are in for an unpleasant time. Is it too much to ask that the military authorities assume a real responsibility for the behavior of men wearing the uniform of the United States? The American people are not yet convinced that, in the name of patriotism, lawful assemblages and law-abiding citizens must submit to insult and assault.

Academic Internationalism

THE ending of the war will bring a new opportunity to the universities of the neutral countries, and we are happy to note evidences that they will be quick to seize it. Norway has already initiated a movement designed to reëstablish international scientific coöperation and the exchange of students so unhappily interrupted by the war. The plan, proposed by Dr. Fredrik Stang, professor of law in the University of Christiania, is for an International Institute to be maintained by the joint efforts of all the Scandinavian countries. The Norwegian Parliament, awake to the duty and the opportunity of the hour, has appointed a committee of nine to elaborate a plan for the institution. This committee, which is headed by Dr. Stang, and which includes six leading university professors and the President of the Diet, is already actively at work, and is securing wide support for the project, which in all its stages has enlisted the lively interest of Fridtjof Nansen and men of his type. The financing of the undertaking presents serious problems, but judging from the generous spirit displayed by the Scandinavian countries during the years just past, there is every reason to hope for adequate support.

The importance of such an undertaking is apparent. We cannot hope that for a long time to come Germans and Austrians, or even Russians, unhappily, will receive the same welcome that was theirs before the war in French and Italian and British and American universities, or that our own students will be made at home in Berlin and Vienna. There is, unfortunately, too much evidence of the possibility of an intellectual and scientific boycott. Scientific coöperation is going to be difficult to achieve between the scholars and students of nations that have faced each other on the battlefield.

But what the belligerents cannot do for the progress of science and civilization, the neutrals may accomplish. The German student may not be welcomed at Cambridge, but he will not be discriminated against at Copenhagen. The young English scholar may find Berlin inhospitable, but he will feel at home in Christiania and Upsala. Here the men who fought one another in the trenches may meet again as co-workers and fellow-worshippers at the shrine of knowledge, and thus may begin the difficult but necessary work of eradicating the spirit of distrust and hatred, and creating an atmosphere of positive sympathy among erstwhile enemies. We must, so far as possible, restore the unity that has been destroyed, and reëstablish the conditions of world-wide scientific progress shattered by the war.

But this plan of the neutrals has another possibility of great value. The smaller European countries have developed their own unique type of culture and civilization, which is peculiarly precious in these days of toppling imperial ambition. For Americans and Englishmen and Germans to come under the influence of the social ideals and the political theories of the sturdy Scandinavian lands in their scholarly universities may mean much in the days when the world is being reconstituted. Of necessity the thought of these smaller countries has turned away from schemes of world dominion to plans of popular welfare. The ideal is one that needs unending reiteration among us. We welcome, then, every move which looks toward the performance by neutral scholars and universities of the function of reconciliation and rebuilding.

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Justice in San Francisco

By ROBERT L. DUFFUS

PERSONS unacquainted with the inner life of San Francisco may often have wondered how it is that so flagrant a miscarriage of justice as the Mooney trial should have been allowed to occur, and, having occurred, should have been so long in being set right. San Francisco is not a frontier town. It is a civilized community. It has tall buildings and a municipally-owned street-car system, it always gives progressivism of the Hiram Johnson type a good majority, and it exhibits in many things the wisdom and dignity proper to a city which stands with its feet in the sea at the bridgehead of a hemisphere. There have been no lynchings in San Francisco for fifty years or more. The last time that one was threatened was the night after Francis J. Heney was shot, in the days of the graft prosecution. But the Mooney case, in the light of all available information, was an attempted lynching, though a lynching under decorous forms of law. How did it happen? How have the authors of the attempt managed to get it tolerated so long?

Some light upon this perplexing subject is shed by the report of J. B. Densmore, a representative of the Federal Department of Labor, who installed a dictaphone last September in the private offices of Charles M. Fickert, the district attorney who secured Mooney's conviction, and who was able, in the face of two requests from the President and a popular demand that reverberated as far as Petrograd, to prevent a new trial. The dictaphone records which Mr. Densmore succeeded in getting have been a nine days' wonder, but not because they were needed to convince thoughtful people that Mooney had not had a fair trial. The ingenuous Oxman had already dropped out of the public eye, following the publication of letters indicating that he had attempted to induce a friend to tell lies to bolster up a weak point in the testimony; other important witnesses of the prosecution had faded away into almost equal discredit; and Fickert had been unable to convict Mrs. Mooney and Israel Weinberg, Mooney's fellow-defendants. Mr. Densmore's transcripts do not so much raise a doubt of Fickert's conduct of the bomb cases as bring up questions regarding his habitual conduct in all cases where the right kind of pressure was brought to bear upon him. The peculiar methods used in the Mooney case are made to appear, not an exception, but part of the regular routine of business. Mr. Densmore has painted—or rather has allowed Mr. Fickert to paint, in an unconsciousness surely favorable to art—the portrait of a district attorney who is in his way a distinct, consistent, harmonious specimen of his kind, a figure to be lifted out bodily for somebody's great American novel.

Fickert was once a cow puncher. Later he was a football hero at Stanford University, and on the strength of the record made there he still solicits votes from romantic alumni. At Stanford, too, he acquired a certain knowledge of the law—enough, at least, to take him past the State bar examinations. When San Francisco grew tired of its reforming Aristides, ten years ago, Fickert was brought to the front by the threatened corporations on the perfectly frank platform that he would secure the dismissals of the remaining indictments and put an end to the graft prosecutions. He was elected, and the indictments were dismissed. Thereafter he remained in office largely because no one took sufficient interest in the district attorneyship to make a serious attempt to put him out. When Mooney and his associates were arrested after the preparedness day outrage (July 22, 1916) it fell to Fickert to convict them. Anti-labor forces in San Francisco desired two things: first, that the prisoners be convicted; second, that the blackness of their crime be smeared on organized labor and that the progress toward an open shop and "prosperity" thus be made easier. When it developed that there was little evidence, the determination to convict did not weaken. The machinery of the district attorney's office proceeded to function, grinding out witnesses and bringing in evidence. The desired convictions of Billings and Mooney followed. Other convictions would doubtless have been obtained had not the publication of the Oxman letters knocked the district attorney's carelessly built framework to pieces. But it was the publication of these letters that was unlooked-for and abnormal; the manufacture of evidence in important cases, the freeing of the guilty, and the imprisonment of the innocent seem to have been quite the ordinary thing—provided the United States investigator who makes these charges is to be trusted.

Mr. Densmore's records show Fickert "fixing" things with bail bond brokers, with attorneys for private individuals whose cases he should have prosecuted, with agents from the tenderloin, with jurors in criminal cases. They show him, under highly melodramatic circumstances, endeavoring to compel a woman witness, who says she knew nothing about the case, to testify in the trial of Mrs. Mooney. They reveal in him a dislike for orderly processes of law that is not wholly alien to that professed by, or for, the Industrial Workers of the World. The details are interminable, and not all interesting, but the conclusion toward which they all point is that, if they are true, the office of the district attorney in San Francisco has become a private enterprise, paid for by the public money and voted for by the citizens, but otherwise adrift in the sea of competitive business.

Perhaps this does not indicate an unusual degree of turpitude in Mr. Fickert. It may indicate only an especial loyalty to his friends. How greatly loyalty to one's friends enters into all sorts of crimes against the public we have yet to realize. William Allen White hits close to the mark in his latest novel when he makes Dr. Nesbit say: "Politics is jobs. Jobs is friends. Friends is politics." Mr. Fickert entered his office under certain obligations, to wit, to help those who helped him. He had a host of friends of whom he asked favors and to whom he was in a position to grant favors. The favors, Mr. Densmore charges, ranged all the way from securing the release of a friend's friend who had been careless with other people's automobiles to manufacuring evidence, on a friendly hint, to get prisoners convicted of murder. The outer public must have seemed to Mr. Fickert cold and unresponsive; his friends, who wanted these little chores done, were not so. He served his friends, with a certain dogged faithfulness, as many a better man has done before him, and expected them to reward him with votes, with campaign contributions, and, in the case of

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one ex-butcher who was in touch with the meat business, with a few chops now and then to take home for supper.

After these revelations it would have proved impossible for even a very cautious Governor, bent on not doing the unpopular thing, to let Mooney hang. It is to be hoped that the commutation of his sentence is but the first step toward a new trial, conducted under circumstances that shall put its fairness beyond suspicion. But the life or death of one man is far from being the most important issue of the Mooney case. What one would like to be sure of is not only that Mooney will not be hanged (at least, not until there is indubitable evidence to prove him guilty), but that other men in less prominent cases will not be unjustly punished or unjustly freed, by the same machinery that worked so badly in this case. Of this, it would appear, one cannot be sure, not only while Fickert is in office, but while the forces which put Fickerts into such offices continue to operate. The administration of justice, not only in the courts but in the prosecutors' offices, needs (it is scarcely ironical to say it) to be made a public utility. It has been too long a special privilege.

We have our choice between such a reform as this now, while reform is easily possible, and something more than reform later on, at the hands of hard-pressed millions who may become convinced that there is no justice in courts and no right in laws. It is illogical to suppose that Mr. Fickert, as not paroled, has no counterpart in other American cities and that relations between capital and labor in years to come may not again and again be embittered in this wholly unnecessary and wildly reckless way.

The latest reputation to topple into the engulfing maw of the Mooney case is that of Judge Frederick W. Henshaw, formerly a justice of the State Supreme Court of California, now dramatically charged, after twenty years, with accepting the monumental bribe of $410,000 to change his vote in the notorious Fair inheritance decision. If Mr. Densmore's records are to be trusted Fickert was as much at home with agents of the tenderloin as with ambassadors from the financial district; but Henshaw stood for solid pecuniary worth. It is declared through him that the desires, whether laudable or otherwise, of the public service corporations and of the chamber of commerce were often made known. It has long been asserted in San Francisco that it was Henshaw who selected Fickert ten years ago to be made district attorney by the United Railways political machine.

It was therefore natural that Mr. Densmore, in securing evidence bearing on Fickert's character and methods, should investigate the character and records of Henshaw. He found material ready to hand in the amazing confession of W. J. Dingee, formerly one of Henshaw's closest friends. This confession had come into possession of Fremont Older, now editor of the San Francisco *Call*, who had confronted Henshaw with it and had withheld it from publication on the latter's promise that he would resign from the State Supreme Court and ask Governor Stephens to grant Mooney a new trial. The first part of this promise Henshaw kept; the second part he ignored. Dingee's story is that after the State Supreme Court had refused, by a vote of 4 to 3, to grant a petititon of the heirs in the Fair case to dissolve the trust and liquidate the estate, he was approached by the heirs with an offer of money to induce Henshaw to vote for a rehearing. Ten thousand dollars, according to Dingee, was first paid to Henshaw in cash, and a check signed by Herman Oelrichs, husband of one of the Fair heirs, made out in Dingee's name, was deposited pending the decision. A rehearing was granted, Judge Henshaw changed his vote, the heirs received the property, and, according to Dingee, the money was paid over to Henshaw in a series of checks of $50,000 each. Records of these checks are shown in Dingee's ledger and Dingee's story is corroborated by an affidavit of F. A. Losh, formerly his bookkeeper. Other evidence is said to exist which confirms the affidavits and the admissions made by Henshaw to Mr. Older. With this exposure Mr. Densmore produces dictaphone records showing that Henshaw has been Fickert's constant adviser in the Mooney case. As the Fair decision was made twenty years ago no criminal proceedings against Henshaw can follow the exposure. None will be needed if there comes from it a new trial for Mooney and an end of the evil campaign to use this case as a weapon against labor. Finally, it should be added that Mr. Henshaw flatly denies the truth of the Dingee charges. At this writing, however, he has not yet brought a suit for libel.

Drafted Universities

By JOHN LEE

WHEN the S. A. T. C. (Students' Army Training Corps) was first established in our universities in September with the stated purpose of combining academic and vocational instruction with military training in order to bring out good officer material, much gratification was expressed by university and college administrative heads. In addition to the laudable desire to be of service in the prosecution of the war it was realized that the sadly depleted ranks of the male students could be restored to normal or even increased by this method. Also the federal Government was to pay the extra expenses. In some cases there was rejoicing in the sadly-tried hearts of the deans, for now surely we should have under military supervision a better type of student. Soon after the institution of the new system, a dean in one of the larger State universities sent to instructors a circular letter calling upon them to use to the full their new opportunities to bring the standard of work of the civilian students up to that of the military students. This was a great opportunity, he told his colleagues, to raise the all too low scholarship standards of the university by holding up the soldier students as examples to be imitated by the non-military students.

The instructors were, perhaps, not so jubilant, but for the most part they, too, were filled with faith. To be sure, they began to feel the heavy hand of war when they found they were expected to increase their teaching work from fifty to one hundred per cent. Most of them sadly abandoned all hope of doing any research for the coming year. A large number of them were asked to give up part of their specialized work in order to take on teaching in other fields, where the demand for teachers was beyond the capacity of the universities to meet through the usual channels. Economists, teachers of English, of Latin, even of physics and anatomy, as well as of various other subjects as little related, were drafted to give instruction in history; for here was a great opportunity to establish the rightness of the cause of the Allies by means of undoubted historical facts. Training courses to teach these highly specialized professors how to teach history at a glance were established,

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and many a man whom some twenty-five or more years had separated from any very technical knowledge of history sat solemnly through these instruction periods and received his pointers. A few gave up in despair or found more pressing duties and secured permission to drop out. But most of them stuck to the ship. Of course many amusing situations arose out of this improvised teaching. Unsuspected facts regarding history and geography were transmitted to the students and the professors consumed over lessons an amount of midnight oil which had been unwonted for many years. But these were minor difficulties. The instructors were, with all their added burdens, characterized by their usual meekness and seriousness of purpose. And even when they were ordered by the War Department to add proctorial work in the soldiers' study halls to their already heavy assignments, the murmur was scarcely audible. They would serve where they were best fitted, even at guard duty.

When the work actually started, developments were not wholly according to schedule—at least, not according to academic schedule. The dean whose heart had been buoyed up with such strong hopes was among the first to be cast down. Instructors were much puzzled. One reported that he had gone to the same class room—the one in which his course was scheduled—on three successive days but that on no two of these did he find the same students there. Another instructor repeated the same lecture for a week to meet the exigencies of a similar situation. Administrative inquiries addressed to the military department brought the information that the missing men were in large part on special military and camp duty. Some were not accounted for. It was discovered in some cases that the military arm did not understand that the soldiers were expected to study. Apparently many of the soldiers themselves were under the same impression, for the first quizzes revealed a very low scholarship achievement on the average. Conservative estimates placed the proportion of failures at approximately one-third. In some cases it was as high as ninety per cent. This was due to a variety of causes, such as lack of sufficient high-school preparation and even occasionally of native ability, but in most instances it was attributable to the fact that the military duties and discipline to which the men were subjected left inadequate time and energy for the prosecution of their academic work, even when instructors were inclined to be lenient with them. At the same time, the soldiers did not look upon this work as having any direct relation to promotion to commissions. While academic standing was ostensibly to be rated at 35 per cent. in selecting officers, men were called for officers' training camps without consulting their academic rating. In some cases the instructors were never given class lists and were consequently unable to make reports of either grades or attendance, or to know with any degree of definiteness who were entitled to be in their classes.

So much for the causes of disillusionment. It did not require many weeks of such experience to convince both teachers and administrators that something was wrong. Former enthusiasm for the S. A. T. C. work had turned into the hope that it might be abandoned at the first opportunity. A dean remarked that no one wished to see it continued a moment longer than was necessary. University presidents were reported to have fretted considerably under the scheme. One university is said to have sent an ultimatum to the War Department to the effect that it would abrogate its contract unless the military branch showed more of a disposition to live up to its agreement. Administrative officials of some universities were quoted in the press as being dissatisfied. It was whispered that the college presidents, at the annual meeting of the colleges and universities held early in November at Chicago, would vote to discontinue the work, now that the war was over. At least one district meeting of these college and university heads apparently did protest against permanent continuance of the system.

But instead of voting to discontinue, the national body passed a resolution to go ahead with the system, with such modifications as promised to give relief. What caused this change of heart, or of head? Were the university heads convinced that Mars and Minerva could remain happily wedded after all? Or was there some suggestion from above? One administrative official is reported to have said that if the S. A. T. C. were discontinued at this time it would be generally regarded as a failure and the War Department would be blamed for the whole matter; it seemed desirable therefore to give it a fair and continued trial. But one thing is certain: the larger universities have submitted to it with doubtful tolerance and not with unalloyed approval. It is regarded by them as holding the possibility of a serious menace to the better standards of education in this country.

And there are other difficulties and some suspicions which cannot be ignored. University men fear militarism above all things else. Our American universities have enjoyed a fair degree of academic freedom. We have recently had much to say about the slavishness and truculence of German university professors under the heavy hand of their militarized and autocratic Government. Would not the permanent admission of the military arm into our universities make possible a degree of academic coercion which would cause the Prussian Junkers to turn green with envy? One of the very largest of the political and social questions of the immediate and distant future will be that of armaments and of our international aims and ideals. Shall we make possible from the very beginning the muzzling of the tongue of science and investigation? Shall it be made possible where there is most knowledge to coerce free speech because of military proximity and a censorship, however unofficial it may be? Shall the universities be called upon to sacrifice their standards and ideals in order that the War Department may be justified?

There is also another suspicion which has gained utterance, even from the mouths of the university presidents themselves. Those who are for one reason or another interested in establishing universal military service in this country might find the S. A. T. C. a most convenient entering wedge. The plea that the Government was giving to the young men a college education while it was training them for the future defence of their country might be expected to make a suitable popular appeal. What are educational standards to the masses of the population, or to the militarists? The need for the preservation of the universities for the investigation of those facts and principles of science upon which the progress of the future must depend is as little understood. It is just possible that the duty of keeping the fountain heads of knowledge pure and the expression of truth undefiled and unafraid may be more generally recognized. An appeal in behalf of such a cause may reach the popular ear and call forth a sympathetic support.

One fact, however, should be made clear. It will not be

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the universities—their faculties and presidents—who will decide this question in the end. It will not make much difference what they think, except as they may be able to influence popular opinion—if they dare. The universities are controlled by boards of trustees and not by the teaching staffs. Even their presidents are relatively powerless, except as they are gifted with the knack for persuasion. This, perhaps, is not as it should be, but it is the system as it is. Usually the trustees are business men and politicians, much more closely allied by sympathy and by financial connection with the political and business worlds than with that of science and learning, which they so completely control. This is a fact which the public should not forget. In the long run the universities can be what the people wish them to be, but only in case they undertake to make them so.

The Colleges and the S. A. T. C.*

By ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN

IT is not necessary or desirable to attempt to describe in detail the working out of this plan (the S. A. T. C.) for rendering service to the Government. On the educational side, the arrangement is that we are giving to the soldiers in Amherst forty-two hours per week of academic instruction and study, in addition to eleven hours of military training which is under the direction of a captain and eight lieutenants of the army, assigned to us by the War Department. In accordance with the present schedule, the hours from 9 to 4, with the exception of the lunch hour, and from 7:30 to 9 p. m. are wholly given up to academic work. With respect to discipline, the soldiers are fully under the control of the military officers. I should like to call your attention to the implications and the educational significance of the arrangement.

The impression has gone abroad that by entering into this contract with the Government the college has in its own essential quality ceased to exist, that it has become a part of the military establishment of the country. I find that this interpretation, which began in the newspapers, has crept even into the official statements of the Committee on Education and Special Training. The interpretation is, I am sure, inexact and misleading. The essential feature of the contract is that the college accepts as its students a certain number of soldiers of the army of the United States, putting them into common classes and under common instruction with its other students, attempting to accomplish upon them, in limited time and under difficult circumstances, the process of education for the sake of which it exists. The members of the Students' Army Training Corps are both soldiers and students. It is, I think, possible for an individual to be both these things at the same time. If so, it is possible and actual that in our plan both college and corps exist in definable and harmonious relations, each with its own members and each with its own work to do.

The justification of the statement just made will be found in the following principles selected from those laid down in the communication of August 28 defining the nature of the permanent contract offered us.

"3. *Permanent Contract.* The following governing principles may be stated:

"(c) The entity and power for usefulness of the institutions will be safeguarded, so that when the contract ends the institutions shall be in condition to resume their functions of general education.

"(e) The Government will ask from the institutions a specific service, that is, the housing, subsistence, and instruction along specified lines of a certain number of student soldiers. There will be no interference with the freedom of the institution in conducting other courses in the usual way."

In addition to this statement there have been many rulings and interpretations as the policy of the committee has developed. In spite of conflicting statements by individual officials, it seems clear that the essential principle of the contrast has not been and will not be modified. The college does and should exist as a peculiar and important institution. Its service is not that of ceasing to be, but of bringing to bear upon a specific and unusual task the full strength of its spiritual, social, and intellectual equipment.

I am glad to say that on my direct appeal to Brigadier General Rees for a ruling on this point, the opinion just expressed is confirmed. He assures me, in a letter dated October 28, "that the policy of the War Department has not changed in the slightest respect since I talked to you last August. It is still desired, as it always has been, that the members of the Students' Army Training Corps receive college training in the broadest sense of that term in conjunction with military training."

This principle of the "entity" of the college, if I may borrow a phrase from the committee of the War Department, has had several interesting applications. For example, there arose early in our experience a perplexing though not serious question regarding so-called college activities. The athletic teams, the daily paper, the Christian Association—are these the activities of the training unit or of the college? If they belong to the corps, then those students who are not members of the corps are excluded from them, and so the social life of the college as an entity has disappeared. And from a narrow military point of view this might have seemed desirable. The discipline of the soldiers might well be interpreted to apply to their recreations, and the ruling might be made, as it would be made in a separate camp, that the activities of the soldiers must be their own and not those in which civilians participate on equal footing. But as against this, it is obvious that the very nature of this plan calls for just such participation and depends upon it. The soldiers as members of the college must participate with non-military students and non-military instructors in its classes and other exercises. I am glad to say that at Amherst, after conference between the military and the academic officers, the more liberal interpretation has been taken, and that accordingly student activities of every kind are regarded as college activities, in which every member of the student body is eligible to participate, whether he be a soldier or not.

In the same way, the usual required services in chapel and church have been continued, the chapel meeting being held for the present only three times a week. In these services, the spirit of the college finds, or ought to find, a characteristic and telling expression. They should be of peculiar value to the student soldiers. The liberality of the college in respecting differences of religious opinion and in freeing men on this ground from the requirements of attendance has made possible, through the courtesy of the military authorities, the holding of these services for the college as a whole.

An interesting question under the same principle arose with respect to the work of the Christian Association. The War Work Council of the Y. M. C. A., acting with the authorization of the War Department, expressed its willingness to take charge of the work ordinarily done by our own Christian Association and to extend it in such a way as to make it correspond to the activities carried on by it in the great training comps. The Council was willing to make considerable financial contribution to the support of the work and to send in a secretary to take charge of it. Here again it seemed to us far better to maintain the integrity of the college and not to adopt the misleading analogy of the training camp. Since it is the desire of the Committee on Education that its student soldiers be given as much as possible of the spirit and training of the college, it is obvious that at this determining point the college may not yield up its responsibilities to outside agencies, but must rather devote itself with greater energy and with wider scope to the determining of the social quality of student life. In accordance with this principle, we have formed a committee of seven members of the faculty and seven students, which, under the direction of Professor Litchfield as Executive Secretary, has taken charge of such things as entertainments, Bible-study classes, religious meetings, lectures, dances, reading rooms, the providing of magazines, and many other matters. We have placed Williston Hall at the disposal of the committee, and now that the fraternity houses are closed, it promises to be the home of many essential activities. We shall see at this point whether or not the college can maintain its spiritual and intellectual

*From a report presented to the trustees of Amherst College by President Meiklejohn on November 7.

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integrity in spite of its too frequent divisions and distractions.

In summary, then, may I say that as a matter of fact the college as an entity does exist under the terms of our proposed contract with the Government? And further, it is essential both for our present service to the Government and to our characteristic service to the wider interests of the people whom we serve that this integrity of the college be preserved. I can assure you that as an institution we have lost none of our resoluteness of purpose for the doing of the fundamental thing the college has to do.

There is one other feature of the general plan on which I hesitate to speak, and yet it seems to me essential that I give you word of warning regarding it. To the performing of the specific service asked by the Government this college, like every other, has given itself enthusiastically and without reserve. Our constant question has been, not, what is required of us under the contract? but, what can we do to further the purposes which the Government has in mind? And at many points we have willingly gone far beyond the requirements and specifications of the committee in charge. There have, however, been running about in various places more or less official suggestions which seem to us both irrelevant and disturbing. We have been told, for example, that the Committee on Education is not only engaged in training and testing soldiers, but it is also trying educational experiments upon the college. For example, it is insisted that we shall come to see the advantages of military organization and discipline over our ordinary academic procedure, and shall adopt it as our permanent policy; and again, that we shall recognize that the admission tests applied by the army are far superior to those on which we had learned to depend in times of peace; and still again, that the vocational element in education will be found so valuable that we shall never be willing to return to the abstractions of liberal and cultural training. It may be that those who predict the coming of these insights are right. Certainly it is true that we must keep our eyes open for whatever lessons may be learned in the midst of our trying experiences. But admitting these things, the fact remains that our contract does not provide for the trying of educational experiments upon the college; it does provide for our attempting a specific service of immediate practical importance. It is a commonplace of the study of method that where investigations are popularly and loosely conceived, the outcome of any experiment depends largely upon the preconceived opinions of the persons by whom it is conducted. Such experiments are not studies of fact; they are attempts to establish points of view. And surely it may be insisted that if the colleges are to be experimented upon, this should not be done by the War Department, it should not be done by a committee selected for a wholly different purpose, it should not be done without the full understanding and cordial support of the institutions which are to be experimented upon.

I am venturing to say, therefore, that the suggestion of these experiments is irrelevant to the concept of the plan and definitely harmful to its execution. We are engaged heart and soul in doing the work assigned us. While we are busy about it, we have a right to the assurance that we are not being used for some other unavowed purpose. I am far from saying that experiments upon colleges are undesirable; if I should say that to you in this college you would think me to have lost my wits or never to have had any. But I do protest that separate tasks be kept separate, and separate responsibilities as well.

Contributors to this Issue

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Western Labor in Independent Politics

By VICTOR S. YARROS

DESPITE the conventional and superficial admonitions or warnings of certain "big" daily newspapers, the leaders of organized labor in Chicago, the metropolis of the West and the second city in the United States, have, after mature consideration, decided to urge the formation of an American Labor party. At a recent meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor a resolution was unanimously adopted concurring in and heartily approving a definite recommendation of the executive committee of that organization to that effect. The matter is to be referred to the constituent unions of the Federation for discussion and action. Should the unions approve the proposed organization of an Independent Labor party (and they *are* approving it), a convention will be called and arrangements made to organize every precinct in Chicago and Cook County. Members of the party are to pay regular but small dues in addition to the union dues they have to pay.

The Illinois State Federation of Labor has almost unanimously approved the movement. The intention of the promoters of this idea is to make a fight for the control of the Chicago city council and to elect a labor Mayor. It is unfortunately the case that certain local labor leaders have guilelessly permitted themselves to be used by the present morrally discredited Chicago city Administration for its own sinister and selfish purposes. In his desire to retain control of the Board of Education, the Mayor, at the instance of some clever and tricky advisers, offered four positions on the school board to prominent trade-union officers and labor leaders. The move, however, was too manifestly insincere to succeed. It was supposed that the city council would shrink from the prospect of offending and alienating organized labor by refusing to confirm the Mayor's school nominations since the "slate" included so powerful a minority of labor men. Had the city council confirmed the whole list, the labor men would have found themselves in a minority—impotent and politically helpless. The majority of the school board would have carried out the orders of the City Hall machine and the spoils gang. Happily, the city council found sufficient courage and common sense to reject the whole list on its general demerits. No hostility to organized labor was intended; the Mayor's game should not for a moment have deceived the intelligent and upright leaders of organized labor in Chicago. It did deceive some of them, and it is suspected and said in some circles that the decision of the executive committee of the local Federation of Labor to organize an independent labor party was at least to some extent influenced by indignation and resentment at the perfectly proper and creditable action of the city council in rejecting wholly unfit nominations to the school board, notwithstanding the sugar-coating of the same by four labor men, two or three of whom would have been gladly confirmed as individuals had they been named without ulterior and unworthy objects in view, by reason of their ability, fitness, and representative character.

However, even if this characteristic school-board episode did in an indirect and unconscious way hasten the action of the executive committee of the Federation of Labor, it would be captious and unphilosophical to dismiss that

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significant step as undeserving of attention and consideration. Good has come out of evil too often in human history to warrant too skeptical an attitude toward large and pregnant political decisions. Besides, it is felt by Chicago men and women of light and leading that the more earnest and enlightened labor leaders have spontaneously reached the conclusion that the time has come in America to organize an independent Labor party and give it an honest, practical, inspiring platform, because the old parties have lost their real *raison d'être* and are deceiving themselves and the country by repeating meaningless phrases or galvanizing dead issues.

If, then, the leading trade unionists of Chicago realize the necessity of breaking with the old parties, emerging from political confusion, chicane, and darkness into the light of vital issues and clear principles, the decision to form an independent Labor party and seek to interest State and national labor leaders in the movement is a hopeful and encouraging sign of the times. The important question arises at once: What does organized labor want in politics? What are the motives that prompt it, and what are the specific things it intends to work and vote for? If the old and decadent parties have ceased to represent intelligent labor, in what respect have they so ceased to represent it?

So far as Chicago trade unionism is concerned, we go naturally for an answer to such questions to the platform prepared by the local leaders and approved by the Federation. Several progressive thinkers in Chicago have spoken appreciatively of this document, even though they cannot fully subscribe to it. Like all similar documents, it is divisible into two parts—the immediate and practical, and the ultimate or idealistic.

To the first belong planks like the following:

The right of workmen to organize and deal collectively with employers.

Equal rights for men and women in industry and politics.

An eight-hour day and a minimum wage.

Abolition of unemployment by means of Government work on housing, road-building, reclamation and reforestation, and the like.

Complete restoration of the fundamental rights of free speech and free assembly.

Continuation and extension of Government insurance to cover illness and accident as well as life and property.

And here are the more radical and comprehensive planks:

Democratic control of industry through the development of coöperation as a substitute for private autocracy on the one hand, and governmental, bureaucratic domination on the other.

Elimination of waste, parasitism, and profiteering in industry and commerce through coöperation.

Public ownership and operation of all public utilities; recapture of natural resources and large holdings of land.

Liquidation of the national debt by the application thereto of all inheritances in excess of $100,000. Graduated income taxation as a permanent policy, and the taxation of land values.

Representation of labor in proportion to voting strength in all departments of the Government, national, state, and local, and in all international tribunals and agencies.

An international league of workers to supplement the league of nations and insure the permanent abolition of militarism and imperialism in all their forms.

Further developments in this movement will be watched with deep interest and sympathy by many western liberals and radicals who are not wage workers and cannot belong to any trade union—and who, perhaps, will not be admitted into regular membership of the proposed new party. There has been for some years a strong sentiment among Western non-wage workers of radical leanings in favor of the organization of an independent Labor party on the British model. Such men and women will often vote for Labor candidates in preference to the machine-made candidacies of the old parties, candidacies that at the best stand for "good government" in the limited, uninspiring sense of economical and reasonably efficient administration, and, at the worst, stand for organized plunder and cynical sacrifice of public to private interests.

"But what will Gompers say?" some unionists are asking the promoters of the new project. Their answer is that Mr. Gompers is no dictator, and that he could not, if he would, prevent American labor from taking up actively "the Chicago idea"—which, by the way, is not a Chicago monopoly at all, since it has been tentatively broached in other cities and labor bodies—if the younger and more responsive and bolder spirits in the American Federation of Labor should evince a lively disposition to do so and should reveal a realizing sense of the desirability and wisdom of the movement.

Three Poems by Edgar Allan Poe

By J. H. WHITTY

WITH the constant advent of enthusiastic scholars into that field of research, it may be expected that additional harvests of new matter relating to the life and writings of Poe will be garnered from time to time. Dr. J. C. French has lately made an important contribution by directing attention to Poe's work in the *Baltimore Saturday Visiter* for 1833. A file of the *Visiter* for that year had for many years been lying unnoticed at Cantonsville, Md.

The new poems in the *Visiter* are called "Serenade," "Fanny," and "To ———" (Sleep on, sleep on, another hour.) A Poe authority to whom I sent copies wrote me that "he read them with some of that excited interest which Keats in his famous sonnet attributes to Balboa when he caught the first sight of the waters of the Pacific from the Peaks of Darien." Another thought "the 'Serenade' just what a poem by Poe should have been at such a period, the very acorn of the oak, and reeks of the young genius. While the opening is a Byronic couplet, the imagery is pure Poe throughout, and the tone in his peculiar lyricism, with the right landscape, the slumbrous psychic mood, and the whole admirably blended and falling (as it were) to its climax in the last two lines." I have other opinions, but none of them associates the "Serenade" with Poe's poems of 1827 and 1829. On the contrary, the imagery and diction would seem to belong more to the poems of 1831. It is in Poe's well-known poem of "Israfel" that the closest association may be seen. In lines 38-9 he wrote:

> With the fervor of thy lute—
> Well may the stars be mute!

These compare with lines three and four of the "Serenade"; but the most striking connection between the poems is the fact that Poe recast lines seven and eight of the "Serenade" into the final revision of "Israfel." As the publication of the poem "Serenade" in the *Dial* is quite erroneous, and other deviations appear in republications from the *Visiter*, an attempt is made to give below correct copies. I

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am indebted for them to Mr. Thomas Ollive Mabbott, of Columbia College, who recently made a personal inspection of the *Visiter*. The poem "Serenade" was accepted from "E. A. P." by the *Visiter*, April 13, 1833, and appeared a week later, April 20, as follows:

SERENADE

By E. A. POE

So sweet the hour—so calm the time,
I feel it more than half a crime
When Nature sleeps and stars are mute,
To mar the silence ev'n with lute.
At rest on ocean's brilliant dies
An image of Elysium lies:
Seven Pleiades entranced in Heaven,
Form in the deep another seven:
Endymion nodding from above
Sees in the sea a second love:
Within the valleys dim and brown,
And on the spectral mountain's crown
The wearied light is dying down:
And earth, and stars, and sea, and sky
Are redolent of sleep, as I
Am redolent of thee and thine
Enthralling love, my Adeline.
But list, O list!—so soft and low
Thy lover's voice to-night shall flow
That, scarce awake, thy soul shall deem
My words the music of a dream.
Thus, while no single sound too rude,
Upon thy slumbers shall intrude,
Our thoughts, our souls—O God above!
In every deed shall mingle, love.

While it may seem odd that Poe should have sent to the *Visiter* two other poems later on without his name, still it was like Poe's usual way of doing things. Both these poems bear strong impress of his characteristic work, and are significantly signed Tamerlane. The following appeared on May 11, 1833:

TO ——

Sleep on, sleep on, another hour—
I would not break so calm a sleep,
To wake to sunshine and to show'r,
To smile and weep.

Sleep on, sleep on, like sculptured thing,
Majestic, beautiful art thou;
Sure seraph shields thee with his wing
And fans thy brow—

We would not deem thee child of earth,
For, O, angelic is thy form!
But that in heav'n thou hadst thy birth,
Where comes no storm

To mar the bright, the perfect flow'r,
But all is beautiful and still—
And golden sands proclaim the hour
Which brings no ill.

Sleep on, sleep on, some fairy dream
Perchance is woven in thy sleep—
But, O, thy spirit, calm, serene,
Must wake to weep.

The following poem also appeared in the *Visiter* of May 18, 1833:

FANNY

The dying swan by northern lakes
Sings its wild death song, sweet and clear,
And as the solemn music breaks
O'er hill and glen dissolves in air;
Thus musical thy soft voice came,
Thus trembled on thy tongue my name.

Like sunburst through the ebon cloud,
Which veils the solemn midnight sky,
Piercing cold evening's sable shroud
Thus came the first glance of that eye;
But like the adamantine rock,
My spirit met and braved the shock.

Let memory the boy recall
Who laid his heart upon thy shrine,
When far away his footsteps fall,
Think that he deem'd thy charms divine;
A victim on love's alter slain,
By witching eyes which looked disdain.

The published statement that this poem possibly referred to Mrs. Allan's sister, who was known to Poe as Aunt Fanny, carries no force, because Mrs. Allan's sister was named Ann, and known to Poe as Aunt Nancy.

Poe's poem, "The Coliseum," appeared in the *Visiter* of October 26, 1833. It closely follows the early *Southern Literary Messenger* version, the only important variation being a new line at the beginning:

Lone amphitheatre! Grey Coliseum!

The following published line, alleged to be metrically faulty, cannot be found in the original:

These mouldering plinths; this broken frieze

The tale "MS. Found in a Bottle" was published in the *Visiter* of October 19, 1833, and Poe received the prize of fifty dollars for it. The version differs slightly from that given by the *Southern Literary Messenger and Gift*. The list of variants published in the *Modern Language Notes* for May, 1918, as appearing in the *Visiter* is inaccurate and misleading. Interested students should consult the original.

Mr. Mabbott has likewise recently found among Poe's own clippings, now in my possession, an unknown and interesting criticism by Poe, directed against Griswold and published in the Philadelphia *Saturday Museum* for 1843. For the first time, also, Mr. Mabbott has pointed out an unknown Poe couplet from the *Broadway Journal* for January 3, 1846:

I thought Kit North a bore—in 1824—
I find the thought alive—in 1845.

Mr. Carl A. Weyerhauser has recently translated three papers of Frederick Spielhagen in *Westermann's Monatshefte*, on the Poe-Longfellow war, which show for the first time that Longfellow attempted to come back at Poe anonymously on criticism in his novel "Kavanagh." In Chapter XX, Mr. Churchill (Longfellow) has a dialogue covering eleven pages on literary criticism with Mr. Hathaway (Poe), who desires to found a magazine which will raise the standard of American literature.

In addition to the above items, I have succeeded in finding the three volumes of the *United States Military Magazine* with which Poe was associated in Philadelphia. They contain no work signed by Poe, nor does there appear a likeness of him, as had been supposed. They do show, however, miscellaneous magazine work of a militant character, and a supposed new poem by Poe.

Three new and important poems, presumably written by Poe in later life, are also under final investigation. At least one of these shows marked characteristics of the poet and is apparently written in his best vein. A copy sent to a noted Poe authority brought the response that "if not by Poe, surely it was written by his alter ego." These will probably appear in a forthcoming third edition of the "Complete Poems of Edgar Allan Poe."

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Foreign Correspondence

I. The Dutch Minister

The Hague, October 5

THERE is a growing annoyance noticeable among the Hollanders on account of the protracted vacancy of the post of Dutch Minister in Washington. In responsible quarters the excuse is heard that the change of Government made the delay in the appointment unavoidable, as the late Cabinet, which resigned early in July, although its members remained in charge of their several departments for two months longer, did not feel entitled to nominate a successor to Mr. August Philips. Until recently, however, the uninitiated accounted for the delay by supposing that Mr. Loudon was destined for the post, and that the appointment was to be made as soon as the new Cabinet should have been formed. But some days ago the late Minister of Foreign Affairs made it known through the press that his return to his former post in Washington was quite out of the question. This statement created much surprise and disappointment. The *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* gave voice to the general feeling of annoyance and, in deviation from the old Dutch custom that the nomination of Foreign Ministers is not previously discussed in the press, formulated the requirements to which the representative of the Netherlands in Washington should answer. The editor quoted the saying of Mr. Woodrow Wilson: "Neither do we want our political economy from tradesmen nor our statesmanship from mere politicians, but from those who see more and care for more than these men see or care for."

The Foreign Minister is not exclusively, and not even in the first place, a deputy from one Government to another but a deputy from one nation to another. As that is the case, the nation of Holland should be represented by a man in whom its best and highest qualities are embodied—a scholar of international fame and in sympathy with the sphere of thought in which the idea of a league of nations has been conceived. The Hollanders are apt to forget that the maintenance of their neutrality, which must seem to them a preëminent concern, cannot appear in that same light to the leaders of a nation which feels itself called to the task of reconstructing a world out of joint. From their selfish point of view the Dutch are all too ready to suspect an attempt on their own integrity in a measure which is destined to serve that reconstructive aim, forgetting that the benefit to their own country from its attainment will outweigh the incidental harm to Holland's temporary interests occasioned by the measures necessary to bring it about. Neither from a business man who looks upon the world with the prejudices of a special class, nor from a mere politician who is hampered by the fixed idea that the only correct view of the world is held by his own Foreign Office, can be expected that broadness of mind which alone secures success to a diplomat in the responsible post at Washington. France showed a true insight into the spirit that moves the American Government when she sent to the American democracy the exponent of her noblest thought.

That respect for learning, so characteristic of the Renaissance, seems to be reviving. The universities of France and the United States, represented by two of their greatest teachers, will contribute to the peace of the world by the joint work of those thinkers. Respect for numerical superiority is the guiding principle in the counting-house as at the poll, but the universities have no older and truer task than to assert, in a world of greed and violence, the value of quality as against the value of number. A Government guided by that spirit is the best guarantee for the rule of justice without which no peace can ever be attained. The Dutch nation is coming round to the recognition of the idealism in Mr. Wilson's policy, to which the requisition of the ships had temporarily blinded it, and the new Government would give a proof of wise statesmanship if it took the hint of the Rotterdam journal and appointed in Washington a man who, by the fame of his learning, would be no unworthy colleague of M. Bergson, and, as an adherent of Mr. Wilson's principles of international reconstruction, a true deputy from the people of Holland to the people of the United States of America.

A. T. BARNOUW

II. Celebrations in Paris

Paris, November 13

"I'D rather be here in Paris at this hour than in any city of the world. It is so glorious to see the whole population happy." It was an American who spoke, a tall American officer. He was leaning against the railings of La Madeleine with other officers and soldiers by his side, and the day was Tuesday, November 12. Before him in their thousands, their tens of thousands, stretched out the population of Paris; they crowded the great church to its doors, they massed on its wide steps, they were perched upon the railings. They were a thick moving mass along the boulevards, branching out from the Place, and up the Rue Royale to the Place de la Concorde, with its mass of war trophies, its flags of Alsace-Lorraine, its statues covered with flowers and wreaths. They formed a great moving column up the Champs-Elysées to the Arc de Triomphe. And the kind-hearted American officer laughed with gladness. It is so good to see the people happy. Impromptu processions were formed continually in every part of the city. People who had never exchanged a word or met before joined hands, marching with flags and lanterns and music, singing through the streets and boulevards; dancing *en rond*, wherever there was available space. Guns fired, cannons saluted and as dusk came on, lights, the bright lights so long unknown to Paris, shone out from every building. At midnight the great hall of the St. Lazare Station was a big dancing saloon—that great railway station that recently had been the scene of such bitter partings for the battlefield, such poignant arrivals of the wounded and the sick.

The first procession of that memorable day started from the British Army and Navy Leave Club. The great news came at 11 A. M. At 2 P. M. the procession started—British soldiers, all the leave men, all the service men who could possibly be spared, volunteer workers, all in uniform. Miss Decima Moore, the energetic and graceful founder of the club, draped as Britannia, was borne upon the shoulders of two Tommies. As they proceeded along the boulevards they were joined in their course by Americans, French and Belgians; they passed through the city to the Elysée Palace where they stopped and Miss Moore sang the Marseillaise, God Save the King, and Britannia Rules the Waves. They stopped to salute the statue of Strasburg on the Place de la Concorde; they marched on up to l'Arc de Triomphe.

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On Monday evening a touching incident was the entrance into the British Army and Navy Leave Club of the French *peuple*. The band of the Royal Horse Guards had been playing, Coates, the great tenor, had been singing; the news came that the Kaiser had abdicated. There was a time of wild cheering—the band playing the Marseillaise as never before it had been played, then with like mastery, the Star-Spangled Banner and the British national hymns.

I. S. W.

Oriental Portraits

Marquis Okuma: Japan's Veteran Educator

OPINION will always be divided among the Japanese as to the potency of aliens in the making of the new Japan. Still more will they differ as to the modification of their inherited ideals or character through foreign influence. In appraisal of themselves and in good opinion of their ancestors (or civilization) the self-centred Japanese are excelled by none. Despite their politeness and depreciatory honorifics, modesty is not the trait that lies deepest in their character. In their mythology, Dai Nippon was first created—the other countries being formed from the debris left over. Nevertheless, a favorite image in their classic poetry is that of a stream, even one which becomes a mighty river, swerved in its early course by a pebble. This picture frequently serves as a preface for a biography.

Theories aside, Shigenobi Okuma's career was early determined by Guido Verbeck. In November, 1859, this American missionary, born in Holland, purposely chose Nagasaki for his field, because it was out of the way of foreigners. He could use eight languages, and he read men. He could restrain emotion in a way quite equalling an image of Buddha in Nirvana. This and the qualities of a willing servant made him a demigod. The young men of the progressive southern provinces flocked to him; he became a trainer of statesmen.

Born in February, 1838, at Saga, in Hizen (of porcelain fame), under a feudal lord whose creditable specialty was to push forward promising lads, young Okuma at eight was left a half orphan to be brought up by a wise mother. After the usual drill in the Chinese classics, he studied Dutch, then the one open door to Occidental culture, and was sent to Nagasaki. In January, 1868, Verbeck wrote: "More than a year ago I had two very promising pupils, Soyeshima and Okuma, who studied through with me a large part of the New Testament and the whole of our national constitution." Himself a skilled engineer, Verbeck also gave Okuma excellent instruction, and when the pupil later came into power he pushed to rapid completion the initial railway connecting Yokohama with Tokio.

Tremendous consequences, visible to-day, resulted from this American "pebble." Unswervingly, during his repeated premiership, Okuma has held to the type of representative government illustrated in English-speaking nations. He has always been in favor of freedom of conscience and is the typical educator of Japan. Yet, as he has neglected Chinese chirography, few persons have ever seen any of his own handwriting, apart from his sign manual. To Okuma, more than to any one else, Japan owes most of her higher culture for both sexes. His own Waseda, formidable rival of the Imperial University, and largest of the private higher schools, like all his previous enterprises, was founded in opposition to the materialistic and opportunist theories too dominant elsewhere, and on the idea of true preparation for statesmanship and the business of life, with the moral element supreme.

The Marquis is not a member of any Christian church, yet the tenor of his life shows that he has a Master higher than any on earth. He is loyal to the Samurai of the Ages. In 1887, while he was grappling with the problem of extraterritoriality, his liberal ideas excited the ire of a narrow and uninformed patriot, who, in occidental evening dress, approached the minister's carriage, drew from the folds of his silk umbrella a gas-pipe bomb, and threw it. Okuma lost a leg and his would-be assassin succeeded in postponing his reforms until 1900. In later years the ex-Premier, recognizing the misguided man's motive, laid on his grave a wreath, not of praise, but of forgiveness. This was not nature's reconciliation "with the sweet oblivion of flowers." The act was nobly human.

My first meeting with Okuma was when he was a subordinate in the Foreign Office. Our discussion, which was lively, involved the question of imperial supremacy over local authority. No man has been more consistently a loyal patriot than Okuma, though he has ever been strongest in opposition. He has never shown less than a master's hand in his parliamentary tactics. Indeed, his criticisms may have been as valuable to the nation as his official services: for he not only knew the whole situation, but like our own Robert Lee, was familiar with the weaknesses of his opponents. However arbitrary the pre-constitutional government from 1867 to 1889, those in power dared not arrest Okuma. He was as safe as was Tolstoi in the old days of the Czar. No man knows the whole Japanese people as does the sage of Waseda. He has never been abroad. Yet few men excel him in knowledge of the world and of the ways in which it is governed. A man of wealth, he is yet very accessible and hospitable. His conversation is delightful and his menu excellent. Hence he is the most frequently interviewed of any man in the empire. Hasty visitors, tourists, globe-trotters, and flying newspaper correspondents dine with him. Not a few of these at once imagine themselves able to write a history of Japan or to discuss any question of state. They certainly do inform the world, in amazing style and often without perspective or proportion. One recalls the Dutch story of the man who had "spoken with the prince."

Why, then, has Count Okuma not shone as a practical statesman? In his first premiership, being a man of Hizen, he had little support; for in the last century the Choshiu and Satsuma clans held virtual monopoly. Later he was called, at 76, rather against his inclination, to form a cabinet. He held his own in a policy of fair play to China, but the military party and the bureaucracy—Japan's deadliest political menace—were too eager to take advantage of the European situation, and bullied China. After attending the coronation services Okuma resigned, his ministry having lasted less than two years. Yet, in departing from custom, he dared to nominate to the Emperor, and to his very face, Viscount Taka-aki Kato, whom Okuma deemed his rightful successor. This maddened the Conservatives. Terauchi was appointed and the angry Liberals waited.

Okuma loves flowers and has an unparalleled collection of orchids. He knows the values in life.

EOTHEN.

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In the Driftway

SECRETARY LANSING'S departure for Europe has not been accompanied by his resignation from office, as was rumored when his name was first mentioned as a peace delegate, nor is there any reason why he should have resigned because of a temporary stay abroad. Mr. Frank Polk, the counsellor of the Department, acts as secretary in his absence. Mr. Polk's rise has been rapid indeed since the day he was appointed a civil service commissioner in New York and then promoted to the position of corporation counsel by Mayor Mitchel. The Drifter cannot forget what an admirable appearance Mr. Polk made the day that he assumed his position as counsellor, only to find that Mr. Lansing was turning over the Department to him and departing for a four-week's vacation. This was a difficult position, indeed, in which to put a young man who had never been connected with a diplomatic service. It probably could not have happened in any other great country in the world, but Mr. Polk faced the group of inquiring correspondents with frankness, tact, and skill. In addition he displayed such real knowledge of what was going on in the Department that the veteran correspondents refused to believe that he had not been sitting up o'nights "boning" for his new job. Mr. Polk has kept the friendship and regard of newspaper men ever since. Among his most prized possessions is a letter written by General Grant as Brigadier-General to Bishop Polk, Mr. Polk's grandfather, who, it will be remembered, fell a militant bishop indeed, as a Lieutenant-General in the Confederate Army.

* * * * *

THE Drifter looked out of the window across the dreary court. It was raining. In many of the offices the electric light was burning and busy girls were hammering away at their machines. The whole building was buying and selling and counting profits; romance had been dead these thousand years and pig-iron was king. Then there came a little old man with a pot of paint. He stopped before a door, took off his coat, and put his hat on the window-sill. Then he began to scrape. One by one the gilded letters telling the curious that this was the private entrance to So and So's, who dealt in This and That, were quickly removed, the glass washed, the door made ready for further pictorial operations. The little man took a stick in his left hand. Upon this he rested his right hand, which held the brush. He worked very fast and the letters of the new occupant grew with astonishing rapidity. Within half an hour, there they stood neatly done in black and gold upon the grey background of the glass panel:

C-Z-E-C-H-O-S-L-O-V-A-K
C-O-N-S-U-L-A-T-E
G-E-N-E-R-A-L

In the midst of steel and automobiles and soap and oils and skins and the concrete mechanism of our modern world of trade and business a miracle had happened. A new nation had been born. Some day that door will be in the museum of Prague, and from all parts of Bohemia people will travel to see the handiwork of the little old man with his pot of paint.

* * * * *

DOWN the long and narrow street the Drifter caught a glimpse of the Hudson. A big vessel was going down the stream bound for Europe. It carried all the big men of all the big newspapers of these big United States. They were going to Paris to "do" the peace conference. The Drifter wishes them joy. He was present at the first great peace conference. He reported the second great peace conference. He was assigned to the Portsmouth peace conference, and luck carried him to Lausanne to watch the final proceedings between Italy and Turkey. He knows what his colleagues on board that ship are going to see and what they will be able to write. They will describe the scenery of the Boulogne woods. They will do full justice to the architectural beauties of Versailles. They will find much in Paris of interest to the people in Council Bluffs and Bangor. They will fill endless columns with descriptions of the bright blue and the brilliant gold of the uniforms that whizzed past them in closed automobiles, bound for Versailles and secrecy. In despair they will look for material in the enemy camp, and will give the harrowing details of German plots hatched within sight of the Eiffel Tower. After a while they will drift toward London and the Savoy—to get the right perspective of "this thing." One morning they will sneak back to the home office, and in more than one sanctum will be heard the words of the wise man, "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity."

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

The Invasion of Russia

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the interesting article by "Observer" in the *Nation* for November 23 (on the German revolution), I was surprised at this statement: "They [the western Powers] have the right through the armistice terms to invade Russia and bring about 'order.'"

If the western Powers have the right to invade Russia, it is quite clear that such right must rest on some other basis than the armistice. The armistice is in its legal aspect an agreement between Germany on one side and a group of nations, not including Russia, on the other. Germany does not have the right of jurisdiction over any part of Russia, having by Article 15 of the armistice abandoned the treaty of Brest-Litovsk. By Article 16 she grants permission to the Allied Powers to pass through East Prussia in order that they may have "free access to the territories evacuated by the Germans on their eastern frontier." But this does not confer the right to invade Russia.

E. S. SMITH

Warren, Ohio, November 26

Compulsory Health

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The need of a highly organized national health department with a Cabinet secretary has long been felt. Our national indifference to health is one of the appalling features of our civilization. A commercial nation should be moved by the heavy economic cost of ill-health, if not by its bearing on general happiness. For example, a health-regarding nation could doubtless have prevented four-fifths of the deaths from influenza, and of the financial loss entailed by the wide extension of the disease. In time, without doubt, we shall have compulsory health, and all preventible illness and weakness will inspire contempt and be treated as misdemeanor.

MORRISON I. SWIFT

Newton, Mass., November 18

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To Friends of German Democracy

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The following letters may be of interest to some of your readers. F. B.

"November 19, 1918"

"MR. J. KOETTGEN, ORGANIZING SECRETARY,
The Society of the Friends of the German Republic,
32 Union Square, New York City.

"DEAR SIR:

"I have received your invitation to join The Society of the Friends of the German Republic, and decline to accept for the reason that I consider it impudent and futile for citizens of one State to arrogate to themselves the right to interfere in any way with the political affairs of another State.

"The members of each nation live in a definite, social and political environment that determines the form of their thoughts and actions,—without giving a guarantee that their environment is better than that prevailing in another country. We prefer our own, because we live in it, because it meets some of our needs more or less adequately, and because it is dear to us; but we have no knowledge in how far what is fitting for us would be fitting for others. The peace of the world will not be furthered by the relapse into the crusading spirit of which you make yourself guilty. Three hundred years ago religious intolerance led to wars waged for the purpose of religious dictation. We have outgrown this spirit. Political intolerance which leads to wars waged for purposes of political dictation has to be overcome, too.

"The pretext, that you wish to promote peace by introducing republican forms of government is not convincing, as is demonstrated by the action of the United States of America, Russia, Portugal, China, and a number of Central American and South American republics, in which the decision of a small group that happens to be in power, in many cases combined with foreign pressure, has led to participation in the world war. I remind you of the self-confessed coercion of the Chinese Government by a number of Americans and Australians, who compelled them to war-like action by fomenting revolt in the Army. The kingdoms of Sweden, Norway, Holland, and Spain, and republican Switzerland have been the only nations that have kept out of the war. It is evident that the form of government does not determine the desire of a nation to preserve peace.

"Yours very respectfully,

"FRANZ BOAS

"Bolton Landing, New York, September 25, 1917"

"To the President of
"'The American Friends of German Democracy,'
"32 Union Square, New York City.

"DEAR SIR:

"I have been invited several times to join the society of 'The American Friends of German Democracy.' I have not accepted the invitation because it seemed to me impertinent for American citizens to try to meddle unasked with the internal affairs of another country.

"I have not changed my opinion in regard to this matter. I still hold that under no consideration have the members of one nation the right to try to impose upon others their own ideals.

"Conditions, however, have changed. German democracy has been born, and my hearty wishes go out to it. It is no longer a question of interfering in Germany, but of preventing improper interference on the part of our own country. There is grave danger that German democracy may appear too free to American conservatism. Attempts may be made, if they are not already being made, to prevent the free development of German liberty by the same methods that are being used to check the radical re-organization of Russian society.

"Here is a field in which 'The American Friends of German Democracy' may render valuable service; and I wish to join your society, provided you can assure me that your endeavors will be directed towards the prevention of interference with the free development of Germany.

"Yours very truly,

"FRANZ BOAS

Grantwood, N. J., November 19

"MR. FRANZ BOAS, GRANTWOOD, NEW YORK:

"DEAR SIR:

"I have received your communication of November 19 in which you express a desire to join the American Friends of German Democracy. You write that you have not changed your opinion on the question of our right to aid the German people to establish a Government responsible to the people. You still hold that such an undertaking is an 'impertinent' act of interference.

"Under these circumstances our society is not justified in accepting you as a member even though you now write that your hearty wishes go out to the German Democracy.

"It would be manifestly unfair to those thousands of Americans of German birth or descent who have stood behind this movement when it required courage to do so, to accept now as members its unconverted critics of the past who even at the time they apply for membership are not in sympathy with the aims and purposes of our Society as above set forth.

"Very truly yours,

"FRANZ SIGEL

"November 22, 1918"

The Conscientious Objectors

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I enclose part of a letter from a conscientious objector in the Leavenworth Disciplinary Barracks, in the hope that through the columns of the *Nation* you may be able to give it publicity and perhaps induce the Administration to put an end to this frightful situation.

Among those who are confined in the Barracks are an ordained minister, two University of Wisconsin graduates, one of whom is also a college professor and the other also a graduate of the Columbia Law School; a student at the College of Physicians and Surgeons, and a newspaper reporter. The remainder of the men, so far as I can identify them, are Mennonites, Quakers, orthodox Jews, or members of a religious sect from Benton Harbor, Michigan, known as the Israelites, or more familiarly as the "Holy Rollers."

CHAPIN H. HOSKINS

Chicago, November 13

"In the 'hole,' a dungeon in the sub-basement, the men are fed only bread and water, and are handcuffed to their cell doors for nine or more hours a day. During the first week they stand with their hands crossed at their breasts, during the second week they hang by their wrists. The 'screws' (sentries) are brutal. I have gone down with food from the mess hall several times to observe them. The air reeks with curses. I have not heard these fellows suggest anything nearer a human reaction than a bestial laugh at some lewd tale. It follows that these men handle the prisoners with little gentleness. X has been beaten periodically. I saw him dragged by the collar, choking, across the rough floor of the corridors and the barber shop into the bath. One sentry knocked him down upon the cement floor, another undressed him with such brutality that he screamed with pain and three of them forced him into the shower and scrubbed him with coarse soap. The Russians from Riley came out of confinement yesterday, wan and staggering. They have gone to work. Both are religious objectors. Some of the Russians now in confinement have gone through the worst experiences in jail which the worst of Czars had to offer. They said that there they were permitted to cook their own food and were

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let alone. They swear that their life there was easy in comparison to this.

"Fellows who came from Camp Sherman last week declined to don the prison garb.* Two of them persisted. They were beaten into submission and the clothes were forced on them. For a time one of them wore his bundle around his neck, refusing to touch it, but he, too, was forcibly dressed. It is said that a captain witnessed the original beating and that he turned his back and walked off without interceding. The sentries to whom he left the job dragged the boys to the bathroom and treated them to X's experience, scrubbing the flesh of one of them with the ubiquitous galvanic soap and a coarse scrubbing brush. The water was so cold that the rest of us spent scarcely three minutes under it and retreated. Yet these conscientious objectors were held under it for nearly fifteen minutes. Corporal Hunter is being tried for beating up two Russians—Holy Jumpers from Texas—for their refusal to salute and work. He administered one of his pummellings in the office of the executive officer, who himself had to stop the struggle, but he is being tried because his specific act was not authorized. [He has since been suspended for having taken action without authority.] The 'hole' treatment is known by every one in all its details and is accepted by the authorities." . . .

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Since you published my article on "Justice to War's Heretics," there have been certain changes in the situation to which I should like to call your attention:

The signing of the armistice, the end of mobilization, and the beginning of demobilization will automatically remove the problem of the treatment of conscientious objectors in military camps, but there are between two and three hundred conscientious objectors in Fort Leavenworth alone, sentenced, as I have already stated, to terms ranging from ten to thirty years. A disinterested student of the problem, who has official connection with some of its phases, has avowed his own belief that among these prisoners are to be found the best type of conscientious objectors, men of high idealism and great capacity for social usefulness. Others of the men hold with desperate tenacity to religious convictions which seem to the rest of the world fanatical, but which make them inoffensive, hard-working, useful men in civil life. In the case of either group what possible social end is served by confining them in prison? What will other nations think of American democracy when they hear of the terrible cost of loyalty to conscience in this free country?

But there is worse to be said. There is in my possession a circumstantial report of shocking brutalities within Fort Leavenworth. Unless this wrong is speedily rectified, the War Department can no longer claim credit for the liberalism which it has tried to show. Altogether regardless of the issue of conscientious objection, such prison punishments are barbarous and unnecessary. The practice of solitary confinement has already been called to the attention of the Secretary of War, but without apparent result. I appreciate the vast affairs which occupy his mind, but I do not believe he can afford longer to ignore this matter. In view of the facts which I have stated, it seems to me evident that two questions deserve the immediate attention of fair-minded Americans:

First, the immediate need for reform of prison punishment in military prisons.

Second, the question of pardon of political prisoners. In this group I should include conscientious objectors and men and women convicted under the Espionage Act for expressions of opinion. So long as those ferocious sentences stand to which you call attention editorially in your issue of November 2, I do not believe America can assume the rôle she desires as champion of democracy throughout the world. It will not be a just, generous, or lasting peace that leaves these political heretics in American jails.

NORMAN THOMAS

New York, November 25

*Because of a religious scruple against wearing buttons, presumably because they are from slaughtered animals.

To the Victors and the Vanquished

By LEONORA SPEYER

Beyond disputed, hungry lands,
Waits in its shining calm a Place
That knows the blossoming touch of Two Scarred Feet:
There enemies shall meet
After the frightened soul has passed,
And face to face
And hands in hands,
They shall find Truth at last,
Look deep into each others' eyes,
God-wise.

Think of that Place, ye brave and tired men,
Be kind again!

There is a victory in dark defeat—
Sublime—complete—
The triumph over self and fear and death!
Ye conquered! Draw a free proud breath,
Lift up your heads to Peace—for ye
Have won that victory!

There is defeat in gladdest victory—
And shame and woe—
If still the victor hate!
Ye conquerors! Stand nobly at the gate
Of broken hopes, pass in on gentle feet,

Salute the one-time foe!
Be great, superbly great—
Lest in this mighty hour ye shall know
That mightier defeat!

Victor and vanquished, brave and tired men,
Take Love unto your hearts again!

BOOKS

Barrie for the Armchair

The Plays of J. M. Barrie. Quality Street. The Admirable Crichton. New York: Scribners. $1 each.

THE stage exists chiefly for the benefit of the multitude, which lacks imagination; for the remnant, it is not an absolute necessity. For them no painted canvas shaking in the night is needed to call up the forest of Arden, or rouged mime in fleshings to stand for Rosalind under the greenwood tree. The magic words of the master artist suffice to flash them on the inward eye. Each thoughtful reader may enjoy by himself, in his own armchair, by his own fireside, an ideal performance, such as the mad king of Bavaria tried to do in solitary state with a material stage and flesh-and-blood actors. Ever since Shakespeare scored his first successes, the mere reader of stage plays has been considered as well as the playgoer. Sir James Barrie is therefore in his line of tradition in printing his comedies for the benefit of his countless admirers who can hardly hope to see them on the stage.

The staple of comedy has long been what Mrs. Quickly would call "wilful adultery"—simple, reciprocating, compound, or multiple. The playgoers of the Restoration laughed at nothing else; then after a long interregnum of "prudishness," during which all histories of literature lamented the death of the drama, the Loves of the Triangles came into fashion once more,

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to refresh and edify the world. Barrie's originality consists partly in discovering other themes to laugh at; and the tales of his fabulous royalties would seem to show that a large part of the world laughs with him. In treatment, also, he has the merit Lamb loved in an old play-book; he is "human-hearted."

Barrie is distinctly "on the side of the angels." For him women are not invariably depraved, or passion's slaves, or wild creatures just escaped from the jungle. He satirizes women as he satirizes men; but his laugh is tender. If he shows their foibles, he insists at the same time on their compensatory virtues. The two sisters of "Quality Street," for instance, are sentimental, old-fashioned, and, judged by modern standards, hopelessly incapable spinsters. The management of their little school borders on the farcical. They regard marriage as the be-all and end-all of woman's existence. They mistake the intentions of a very common-place gentleman, who enlists and goes to the wars without making a declaration. To raise the laugh of the vulgar at old maids is the easiest thing in the world. Barrie emphasizes their loyalty to one another, their adherence to their quaint standards of gentility, their tremulous courage, until the only proper attitude towards them is "Hats off!" Perhaps the heart of the matter lies in Miss Phoebe's speech to her lover: "You went away to the great battles. I was left to fight in a little one. Women have a flag to fly, Mr. Brown, as well as men, and old maids a flag as well as women. I tried to keep mine flying." Here the attitude is not only "Hats off!" but "Three cheers!" The modern fashion of lavish stage directions, which Barrie also follows, is a welcome aid to the understanding, and they will not be neglected even by the most imaginative. In "Quality Street" they induce the very atmosphere of Cranford, and let the sympathetic reader into the hearts of the *dramatis personae*.

Outside his native land, few remember now the brilliant, all-learned, all-accomplished Scottish prodigy whom his contemporaries styled "The Admirable Crichton"; but Barrie, being a Scot, could hardly forget one of his country's glories. As a satirist of aristocratic futility, he could hardly have lighted on a better name for his hero-butler. To appreciate this comedy properly, one needs to have some feeling for the huge English household with its troop of servants, accurately graded one below the other in an accepted hierarchy, which parodies the social distinctions above stairs. Incomprehensible to Americans also is the existence of a servant class which is class-conscious and possesses a pride of its own. Bill Crichton is the son of a butler and a lady's maid—"perhaps the happiest of all combinations"—and to be a butler in the house of a peer is the realization of his proudest ambitions. His master, Lord Loam, is a progressive nobleman with egalitarian notions under his cap. Social distinctions he believes to be opposed to the order of nature, and, as a protest against an artificial system, he insists on his family and friends entertaining the servants once a month at tea in the drawing-room, a proceeding which is, of course, highly distasteful to servants and gentlefolk alike. Art never quite creeps up to Nature. Farcical as the opening scene of "The Admirable Crichton" is, with the aristocrats' embarrassment, and the servants' constraint, something of the kind is said actually to have taken place at Rideau Hall when a certain Scottish nobleman was viceroy of Canada. Throughout the scene, as indeed everywhere, Crichton deserves his inseparable epithet. His tact in various social crises is beyond praise. The final embarrassing situation arises when Lord Loam makes a speech to the company and wishes to wind it up with a proverb which had a great effect on his life, which he heard first many years before, and which he has never forgotten. He does forget it there and then. All his efforts to remember only make matters worse. Then, at a word from Lady Mary, Crichton dismisses the servants and saves his lordship from complete humiliation.

The cataclysm which gets Crichton out of his servants' clothes is the wreck of Lord Loam's yacht on a desert island. Aristocrats and servants are cast away together. Artificial distinctions disappear and Nature asserts herself. The one man of infinite resource and sagacity is Crichton. By virtue of his innate ability he rises automatically to the top. He is able to work, to invent, to provide, to organize, to direct. He becomes the natural lord and master. In fact, when Nature gets free play, she works a social revolution. Lord Loam sinks to the bottom as naturally as his butler rises to the top. He becomes the happy, contented scullion, patronized by Tweeny, the least-exalted maid in the servile hierarchy. All look up to Crichton and are proud to serve him. The ladies fight for the privilege of waiting on him at his meals. He is more absolute in his island than Prospero; there is no reluctant Caliban, or Ariel longing to be released from service. When he selects Lady Mary as his wife (all the women are in love with him) she is overwhelmed by her promotion. A British man-o'-war comes to the rescue and, not seeing the signals of the castaways, is sailing off. It rests with Crichton whether he shall retain his lordship of the island and possession of the desirable Lady Mary, or abdicate and restore the family to civilization and their former position. Even against the pleadings of Lady Mary, Bill Crichton plays the game and makes his great renunciation. The comedy ends with Lord Loam back in London, Crichton once more the perfect servant distinctly in his place, and the aristocrats meanly and dishonestly taking to themselves all the credit which is due to the despised butler. The satire is severe; for the whole party are rudely cross-examined by a dreadful old peeress, who almost succeeds in eliciting the truth from the unwilling witnesses. Once more, Crichton saves the situation superbly.

And all this living drollery, the fun, the wit, the fancy, the satire, may be enjoyed upon a stage of one's own invention, at leisure by one's own fireside as often as desired.

Karl Liebknecht

The Future Belongs to the People. Speeches by Karl Liebknecht. Edited by S. Zimand. New York: The Macmillan Co. $1.

KARL LIEBKNECHT has been humanity's witness at the heart of Germany. Eager, earnest, unquenchable, he has shouted into the unwilling ears of German ministers and judges what we have said in the safety afforded by the Allied bayonets. And now the fortunes of war have taken this man from jail and set him on high. Three years ago he raised his voice almost alone; now great masses of men look to him for direction. Liebknecht's strength lies in his wide intellectual grasp and great personal courage. When he spoke of German military methods, German diplomatic ignominy, German educational degradation, he knew exactly what he was talking about. He understood perfectly the process whereby the people and the parliament were deceived. He told von Bethmann-Holweg to his face that he had lied. He went to Belgium and saw with his own eyes the torture and the robbery. And what he had seen, what he knew to be true, he made the Government hear in spite of threats.

Germany's need of great leaders is desperate. She needs men with constructive statesmanship, for they must build a stable, democratic government in a period of revolution. She needs men of widely liberal views, for their New Germany must be a part of a new, full world. The sharp split in the German Socialist ranks emphasizes the need. Do Liebknecht and the men of his group possess the high qualities that are required? In their parliamentary labors they have had little chance to develop them. That is the curse of autocracy. They were not law-makers, they were courageous obstructionists. In only one or two of the notable addresses so carefully presented by M. Zimand was Liebknecht even permitted to develop his ideas consecutively to a conclusion. A burning thought, a sharp question, a cry of righteous indignation—was all that the presiding officer would allow. The few speeches that run to any length show us a man who is an orthodox Socialist thinker. He has a deep understanding, from the Socialist point of view, of the social forces back of the war. All the great power of his personality was directed against it as the characteristic product of German autocratic capitalism.

But he does not fall into the Bolshevist error of lumping all capitalist states in one class. He sees the difference between democratic England and autocratic Germany. It is true there is not to be found in the whole book a word of praise for the Entente nations or statesmen. That would have been open treason. But the entire burden of iniquity involved in starting the war is placed squarely on German shoulders. Thus Frenchmen and Englishmen are absolved of this particular guilt, and are placed in a different class. This man who knows so well the part played by England and France in 1914 should be able to collaborate with the liberal leaders of the Entente nations in 1918. The reader of Liebknecht's speeches puts aside the book with renewed hope for Germany.

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Constructive Russia

The Coöperative Movement in Russia: Its History, Significance, and Character. By J. V. Bubnov. Manchester: Coöperative Printing Society. $1.25.

THIS book corroborates and amplifies the substance of Mr. Sherman's paper on Russian Coöperation, which appeared in the *Nation* of August 24. One is impressed with the magnitude, the breadth of ramification, and the commanding authority of the Coöperative movement. One marvels at its power to grow and develop elemental force in defiance of the numerous obstacles placed in its way by the Czaristic régime. Furthermore, it presents the unique case of an organization recognized both by the autocracy and by the Soviet Government. The Moscow Narodny Bank, the organ of the Coöperatives, is the only bank, outside of the nationalized banking system, unmolested by the Bolsheviki and permitted to function. The reason for this unwonted leniency of Lenine may be found in the fact that the number of coöperative societies in Russia is estimated to be fifty thousand, "comprising eighty to a hundred million of the Russian population."

"The coöperator appears to be a self-taught architect of a new life. His knowledge is still very limited, and until lately he was prevented from developing his capacities by prohibitions, fines, and even arrests." Mr. Bubnov's faith in the future of coöperation is based on its remarkable success under the unpropitious conditions of the past. The movement has responded to a need that was stronger than the power of prohibitions and persecutions. The impoverished, over-taxed village clutched passionately at such buoys as were offered by the various forms of coöperation. The consumers' societies have freed the village communes from the middlemen, and have greatly improved the quality of the commodities consumed. These societies are found also among factory and railroad workmen and among townspeople. The proportion is interesting: peasants make up 59 per cent. of the membership, workmen 30 per cent., and townspeople 11 per cent. To bring the consumer into direct contact with the producer is one of the aims of the agricultural societies, of which there are over six thousand, promoting the knowledge of scientific agriculture, supplying the peasants with machinery and implements, most frequently on a renting basis, and on the whole endeavoring to raise the productivity of the soil and the efficiency of the tiller. The various coöperative societies are supported by coöperative credit associations that numbered 16,007 by the end of the year 1916. These aim at supplying cheap credit to the people, thus eliminating the professional usurer; but they engage also in "intermediary transactions," such as the purchase, for members of the association, of agricultural implements, seed, and timber, or the sale of the members' produce. It is noteworthy that agricultural laborers cannot become members of credit associations, because a member is required to own immovable property. It is highly probable, however, that the Soviet legislation has abolished this restriction. One must mention also the most primitive form of coöperation in Russia, the *artel*, an association of workers who sell coöperatively their labor or their produce.

The importance of the coöperative movement as an economic, cultural, and political factor, has increased many fold with the growth among the various units of the tendency to consolidation into larger units. There are over three hundred coöperative unions, which comprise consumers' societies, agricultural societies, credit associations, and many *artels*. These centralized organizations enjoy an influence not merely state-wide, but even international. The Union of Siberian Creameries, the Union of Archangel Tar Producers, the Moscow Union of Wholesale Societies, to cite a few examples, have had for years direct relations with British markets. The Moscow Narodny Bank, with a branch in London, has become so powerful a factor that it is looked upon with suspicion by some coöperative regions with centrifugal tendencies. However we may regard the centralizing policy of the Moscow Narodny Bank, it is obvious that, in the words of Mr. Bubnov, it serves as "the cement which holds together the Coöperative movement." Out of the four thousand shares of the bank, 85 per cent. are taken up by coöperative societies, and only 15 per cent. by private persons, "the majority of whom are in one way or another connected with the movement." Its monthly turnover is no less than $35,000,000; its deposits amount to $15,000,000.

It was natural for the autocratic Government to suspect the Coöperatives as "hot-beds of revolution." This suspicion was based especially upon the educational activities of the movement. According to Mr. Bubnov, "the educational work is the foundation stone upon which the whole fabric of coöperation in Russia is built; it is an absolute necessity. . . ." Besides publishing various periodicals and books, the movement has been organizing lectures for the masses, building People's Palaces in villages, with theatrical and cinematographic performances, establishing schools and libraries—in a word, breaking down one of autocracy's strongholds, ignorance.

Many Myths

The Mythology of All Races. Vol. III. *Celtic.* By A. MacCulloch. *Slavic.* By Jan Máchel. Vol. XII. *Egyptian.* By W. Max Müller. *Indo-Chinese.* By Sir James George Scott. Boston: Marshall Jones Company. $6 each volume.

THE lack of native literary remains makes it impossible to gain any comprehensive knowledge of the mythology of the Gallic and other European Kelts; there are a few insufficient references in classic writers; and although many inscriptions disclose to us the more or less Romanized names of divinities, they give us little help toward understanding mythology. Moreover, the monuments of the Keltic peoples in Europe are often difficult of interpretation, even when analogy enables us sometimes to guess at their meaning. In Roman Britain also a considerable number of sculptured monuments have survived, but none has been found to enlighten us in Ireland, Wales, and north-western Scotland. Yet happily in Wales and Ireland there are abundant literatures.

The mythology which fills so large a part of the Welsh and Irish literatures has, however, suffered from three influences, which have modified or destroyed many of its original elements. Christianity brought down the old gods from their high estate, without depriving them of their superhuman powers and attributes; euhemerizing tendencies, becoming operative as real belief decayed, arranged the gods in genealogical schemes as ancient chiefs and kings; while Christian scribes tried to connect the mythological personages of paganism with early scriptural history. In spite of these destructive influences which have produced two strata in Keltic mythology, we still possess a rich material for Ireland; and the Welsh romantic tales likewise are of great importance, in spite of the modifications which they have suffered.

Dr. MacCulloch devotes his first seven chapters to the following themes: the strife of the gods, especially that of Tuatha Dé Danann against the Firbolgs and the Formorians; the conquest of the Tuatha Dé Danann by the Milesians; the division of the *Sid*, when the Tuatha Dé Danann retired to the hills and mounds; the loves of the Gods, with their combats and transformations; the divine help given to mortals, or the divine enmities incurred by mortals and the punishments inflicted on them by the gods; and finally the love adventures of the gods with mortals. Then after chapters on the myths of the British Kelts and the Keltic myths of Elysium, an account is given of the myths of origins. To most readers, however, the treatment of the heroic cycles of Cúchulainn and his Circle, of Fionn and the Féinn, and of Arthur, will prove most interesting. The two former have suffered less than most Keltic tales from disturbing influences, and therefore display more fully the glamour and magic of Keltic thought. The Arthurian cycle, on the other hand, fell pretty completely under the influence of mediæval chivalry and Christianity; yet perhaps partly for that very reason it has enjoyed a popularity far beyond the rest. A final chapter sets forth the relation between Keltic paganism and Christianity.

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Dr. MacCulloch has presented his abundant material in well-ordered and interesting fashion. If at times to the uninitiated reader his pages seem crowded with personages, this is the fault rather of the matter and of the limitations of space than of the author. Especially to be commended is his sober sense in interpretation. We are happily spared sun-myths and their baneful brood; we likewise escape romantic mythologizing; instead we have a useful and trustworthy account of Keltic myths.

The Slavic material is so scanty and superficial that Dr. Máchal's work is necessarily less satisfactory than that of his associate. Those who are interested will find the little that can be said briefly stated in this volume. Where older monuments have failed, the editor has unfortunately inserted illustrations taken from modern works of art. Such pictures generally give little notion of the ideas current among the peoples when the myths had real life, and therefore, in the opinion of the reviewer, should not be employed.

Most Egyptologists have fallen victims to the natural temptation of reading into the religion which has been the object of their life study a greater depth of philosophical significance or of spiritual truth than the monuments and inscriptions really warrant. Professor Müller has bravely resisted this tendency. A true historical perspective has prevented him from following Budge in his attempt to place back in a remote antiquity the pantheistic conceptions of the later priests. The Egyptian religion is for him very largely a patchwork of animistic beliefs, inherited from a distant past and mingled in its later centuries with certain hazy speculations of the more thoughtful. Even for the most intelligent Egyptians, he assures us, it was always exceedingly difficult to rise above "a very shallow symbolism; and one is not surprised that wisdom of this type moved in a circle for several thousand years."

Buddhist portion of these mixed races.

His distinguished Majesty Amon-hotep IV himself does not escape, but is firmly though respectfully taken down from the pedestal which so many writers on the Egyptian religion had built for him and which received its capstone quite recently from Professor Breasted. The first great individualist of history (as Mr. Breasted calls him) is indeed given due recognition, but the reader is warned against a romantic exaggeration of his originality and insight. "We may admire the great boldness of the King's step, may view it with sympathy, and may regret his failures, yet Amon-hotep IV must not be overrated and compared with the great thinkers and reformers of the world's history." Professor Müller's sober and sensible view of his subject is well summed up in a modest sentence in which he says of his own work: "We venture to hope that our survey, unprejudiced and unbiassed, has shown that though the Egyptians can in no wise furnish us edification to be compared with the philosophic Greeks and Indians, or even with the more systematic Babylonians, the extremely primitive character of their faith makes it a most valuable and indispensable source of information for those who wish to study the origin and the growth of religion."

Sir James George Scott's contribution, in the Mythology of the Indo-Chinese, is less systematic and scholarly than Professor Müller's, but equally interesting. Indo-China as he uses the term is composed of Burma, Siam, and Annam, and the average reader, to whom this very distant quarter of the world is a bit hazy, would have welcomed a brief but systematic account of the land and peoples whose mythology is presented. Instead of giving us this much-needed information, the author brings Shans, Kachins, Karens, and other strange folk suddenly upon the scenes with no word of introduction further than an occasional incidental phrase, which (as no index is provided) is quickly lost—or never found—amid the mass of outlandish stories that fill the pages. The stories themselves, however, are very well told, and exhibit not only the author's skill in presentation, but his first-hand knowledge of the ideas and the doings of these distant peoples. From a perusal of the book one carries away not only an acquaintance with a large range of primitive myths, but new insight into the way in which higher and lower religions may blend and supplement each other. For about ninety per cent. of these Indo-Chinese are Buddhists—or call themselves such; but their primitive and pre-Buddhist theologies shine through their new religion like the ancient text in some outworn palimpsest. Particularly is this seen in the "Thirty-seven Nats" of Burma, who maintain their ancient position among the most orthodox and consistently Buddhist portion of these mixed races.

Three Class-Conscious Novels

Richard Baldock. By Archibald Marshall. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company.

Minniglen. By Agnes and Egerton Castle. New York: D. Appleton & Company.

The Spinners. By Eden Phillpotts. New York: The Macmillan Company.

ONE of Mr. Marshall's engaging traits has been his frank preoccupation with class and "propputty," reaching often to the Trollopean acceptance of *a* class and *its* property as the main things in British life. "Water meads" gave perfect expression to that acceptance. The Conways are as much like the Dales and the Greshams of Trollope as the Dales and the Greshams are like each other: upholders all of that "County" state which so long contrived to be indifferent to vulgar cash without for a moment losing sight of the value of family property. The Conways' poverty is a sad thing because we feel that wealth is a right and natural bulwark of their dignity. In "Abington Abbey" and its successor, "The Graftons," while County standards still obtain, we are permitted to see that they may not in this day be too rigidly enforced. For the Graftons are people of fairly decent birth who have been enabled to graduate into country house life by virtue of the father's success in business (not, as we recall it, in "trade"). That they are taken up by the County is part of their felicity, but it is the reward of their niceness rather than their money. "Richard Baldock," an earlier story now first printed in America, takes us a little farther on the way towards modernity. Richard is son of one of those disagreeable clergymen whom Mr. Marshall (after Trollope) rather dwells on. The Reverend John Baldock is, roughly speaking, a Crawley, not a Slope, a harsh but honest bigot who softens somewhat towards the end. His young wife dies before his hardness withers her. His son has to bear the brunt of it, a boy sensitive and honorable, but not servile enough to get on with his father, or politic enough to please the rich aunt who has an impulse to befriend him. On the edge of manhood he is virtually disowned by both of them and has his own way to make. Or rather he wakes to the desirability of making his own way, so that when the kindly Squire of the neighborhood offers to realize his early dream by sending him to Oxford, he has the honesty to choose another path. Richard casts in his lot with vulgar John Meaking, against the Squire's advice. But the affair turns out well. From country booksellers they become, in no long time, a successful publishing firm in London. Offset against the industrious Richard is an extreme type of the gentleman idler, Laurence Syde. By his charm of manner he has supplanted young Richard in his wealthy aunt's too easy affections, and further estranges them by a bit of chicanery. But Laurence is ruined, not Richard, in the long run; and Richard is to have his sweet revenge when, as a successful and well-received Londoner, he defeats Laurence on his own ground, and wins the girl to whom they both aspire.

In "Minniglen," the Castles have left their far-away realms for something closer to the here and now than could have been looked for from these inveterate romancers. By setting their earlier scenes in the Scottish Highlands they have taken advantage of the chief effects of "costume" and atmosphere in modern British life. The McClurgs of Minniglen are in the full tradition of their race. Proud, impoverished, silent, and gifted with "the seeing eye," young Allan, the present head of the house, is sharply contrasted with the parvenu Baron and his vulgar tribe who have bought up the neighborhood estate of Glenorchar. However, they are the means of bringing Anne Joscelyn upon the scene, a London girl of high social acceptance and no means, to whose "thoroughbred" charms the Baron's hopeful heir falls victim. She might have taken him but for an adventure in the mists and a glimpse of a higher way of life through contact with a mysterious Highlander who seems to have rescued her, body and spirit, from the perils into which

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she has wandered. They meet and part in the dusk, but her searchers from Glenorchar identify him as their rude neighbor of Minniglen. Thenceforth his idea is invested by her with every charm of ideal romance. She dreams only of meeting him again, and so improves a chance encounter in London that Allan McClurg falls under her spell. The war breaks and he of course is among the first to go, but not before he has declared himself and made Anne Joscelyn his wife. He takes her to Minniglen. There he learns for the first time of her meeting with the man in the mist, and her identifying him with that person, who is, it seems, a double, an uncle on the left side, "a cracked body, gone mad on religion." So Allan flings off to the wars, and Anne is left behind, a "wife in name only," loved by none and loving she knows not whom. Anne is a very helpless old-fashioned sort of little heroine, and she thinks favorably of death. But the strange man of the mist, before going off himself to the wars, gives her a second lift out of the slough of egotism. The rest is in substance pretty conventional.

Mr. Phillpotts is getting on steadily with his journey among the industries of England. In truth, there is greater variety in the setting and properties of his provincial drama than in its human elements. We once hailed his Dartmoor people as a race of quite distinctive character and flavor. But it has long since been clear that they were simply of the race of Phillpotts. However, we have usually found the Phillpotts novel based on or culminating in some poignant human situation in which the story-teller clearly had keen interest. Here the situation is this: The son of a mill-owner seduces one of the "hands" under promise of marriage, quickly wearies of her, and repudiates the bargain. She bears him a son in hatred, who lives only to the end of slaying his father and himself. Or, to put it in the man's way, two young things come together in passion; but they are not real mates, and marriage is a doubtful symbol of true mating anyhow.

Notes

EARLY in December Little, Brown and Company will publish "Woodrow Wilson: An Interpretation," by A. Maurice Low. D. Appleton and Company expect to publish in a few days "The Marne," by Edith Wharton; "Our Winter Birds," by Frank M. Chapman.

George H. Doran Company are about to issue "Morale," by Harold Goddard; "Letters from Julia, or Light from the Borderland," by William T. Stead.

TO judge from the extensive bibliography of which Mr. Walter H. Gallichan makes use in his latest book, "The Psychology of Marriage" (Stokes; $1.50), the alleged prevalent ignorance on the subject of sex has little excuse. It is probably true, however, that most of the books mentioned are highly technical and not very accessible, so that there may yet be room for a popular work like the present. Marriage, says the author, turns largely on sex. "The ordinary mortal yearns for more than the ordinary love of comrades when he dreams of the ideal affection and oneness of husband and wife." In the consideration of sex, physiology and psychology are alike concerned; in fact it is often difficult to draw the line of demarcation between their respective provinces. Ignorance of sex psychology is as dangerous to married happiness as ignorance of sex physiology, a fact that has only lately been emphasized by writers and teachers. It is information on this subject that this book professes to offer. The author does not maintain that "sound sex education will always direct aright in the choice of a mate, or absolutely assure complete matrimonial felicity. . . . But knowledge is light, and the lover with a lantern is better equipped than one without any guiding beam but pure instinct. It was the instinctive husband in the old days who mistook his wife's nervous irritability for demonic possession, or ascribed it to original sin, when its real excitant was often his tyranny or lack of sympathetic instinct." "Instinct fails very signally when we are faced with problems springing from those highly intricate organs, the brain and the nerves. Science makes for humaneness and sympathy, because science aims at understanding and knowing." It may be observed that the recent contributions of woman scientists to our common stock of knowledge about sex have been of the greatest value because, while man's ignorance about himself was formerly widespread, man's ignorance about woman was abysmal.

A TEXT-BOOK that would put democracy into the study of history is "The History of the American People," by Charles A. Beard and William C. Bagley (Macmillan). Mass action, the collective force of the people as they made their impress upon civilization, takes the place of "the shadowy record of mysterious personages, far removed from the labor of the masses." Motivating forces are analyzed and explained in their relation to the progress of the nation; one reads much of the conditions and influences which led to the colonization of America, to the American revolution, and to subsequent developments. Colonial America is pictured as a melting pot of the races; the relation between land-owning and liberty is repeatedly suggested; the tendencies toward democracy in education are traced out. These are only a few of the evidences of the zeal of the authors "to catch the deep-flowing and powerful currents of American life, to present them fairly and justly." Chapters on education present surveys of educational development that surpass in scope the offerings of most college texts. What is the intended constituency of this enterprising volume? Without definitely answering this question the authors leave little doubt that it is intended to teach boys and girls in their preliminary preparation for citizenship, in the upper grammar grades or the junior high school. Is or is not such pabulum too strong for their mental digestion? Here is the inevitable challenge to the scholar text-book writer. The book is planned on an ideal to which high-school students can easily measure up; but can their juniors? The style would seem to disarm the critic at this point, because of the skill of the writers in perceiving the limitations in language and thought that prevail in the mind of the growing child; there is little that the twelve-year-old could not understand. Yet, in bidding for the interest of the child on the assumption that he is not easily drawn to a hero-worship of figures far removed from the life and labor of the masses, have they not incurred the risk of trying to arouse their young audience to enthusiasm for a shadowy and impersonal *demos?* Does not the child demand real figures, be they those of myth-crowned heroes or of the butcher, the baker, and candlestick-maker? Why not show in the text, as has been done in the illustrations, pictures of the village ploughman, of the common seaman, of the embattled farmer, of the struggling slave, and of the contemporary champion of democracy?

ONE of the fundamental and most hopeful tendencies of the day is treated in a high-minded, measured style by James H. Tuft in "The Ethics of Coöperation" (Houghton, Mifflin; $1). Professor Tufts describes the ethics of the three types of social organization: dominance, competition, and coöperation. His aim in this essay, originally delivered as one of the Barbara Weinstock lectures on the morals of trade at the University of California, is "to point out that the greatest of these is coöperation, and that it is largely the touchstone for the others." He recognizes, however, the limits of this principle: "There is also an abstract conception of coöperation which, in its one-sided emphasis upon equality, excludes any form of leadership, or direction, and, in fear of inequality, allows no place for competition. Selection of rulers by lot in a large and complex group is one illustration; jealous suspicion of ability, which becomes a cult of incompetence, is another." The obstacles to coöperation are the principles of political dominance, non-social competition, and in many respects nationalistic sentiment. The conclusion is that "the Great Community must create as well as prove the ethics of coöperation."

DOES the study of foreign languages and literatures contribute substantially to a good international understanding? In his presidential address at the first meeting of the Modern Language Research Association—held at Bedford College, London, on October 19—Sir Sidney Lee argued that it does. In his opinion, one of the "favoring breezes" that helped on the British entente with France was the recent development in that country of research in English literature. "In France," he said, "English literature has now been promoted to the rank of a learned

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study." That one must beware of exaggerating the emollient effects of such studies was clear, however, from another section of Sir Sidney Lee's address in which he sketched the history of German research in the English language and literature on a larger scale and during a longer period. Be that as it may, there is good reason to welcome the formation of the new association, which hopes to encourage more advanced studies than come within the range of the Modern Language Association and the English Association. The honorary secretary of the new society is E. Allison Peers, The Old School House, Felsted, Essex.

A CONTENTIOUS and legalistic book by John Herbert Claiborne upon his first American ancestor, "William Claiborne of Virginia" (Putnam; $1.75), throws light upon one of the obscure personalities and debated episodes of early Colonial history. The outlines of the episode are familiar to students. Claiborne, a landed Virginia trader, in 1631 purchased from the Indians Kent Island, in the Chesapeake opposite Annapolis, and settling there was recognized as owner by the Virginia authorities; a year later Lord Baltimore was granted his charter to Maryland (the charter applying to certain regions "not yet cultivated") and sent over his sons; they laid claim to Kent Island and obtained confirmation of their claim in England; Claiborne fought the matter unsuccessfully there and in America; and when the Parliamentary rebellion broke out in the mother country, seeing his chance for redress, he joined a rascally ship-owner named Ingle in invading Maryland. Claiborne retook Kent Island, while Ingle seized St. Mary's and drove Governor Calvert to find refuge in Virginia. The next two years became known in Maryland's history as "the plundering time," though, as the author says, the evidence is that Ingle and not Claiborne did the plundering. In the end, by a union of the governmental forces of Maryland and Virginia, Claiborne was dispossessed and lost Kent Island forever, only receiving compensation from Virginia. The value of this book lies in its clear exposition of the legal issue over the ownership of Kent Island, by which Claiborne's claim appears the better founded; in showing that in the early fighting between Claiborne and Calvert the latter was the aggressor; in demonstrating more fully than ever that Claiborne's alliance with Ingle was temporary and partial; and, in brief, in giving a better character to the hard-headed, hard-fisted, irascible, but honest Claiborne than have some historians. Fiske, Latané, De Thou, and Browne have done him substantial justice, but Catholic writers have often taken a bitter view of his attitude towards Catholic Maryland. The author shows that Claiborne acted generously when under the Commonwealth it fell to him to assist in reducing Maryland to Parliamentary authority. The pity is that the book is written in the style, not of history, but of a legal argument; while its emphasis on petty detail makes us lose sight of the larger, more interesting implications of a quarrel that for years kept two colonies at odds.

IN the volume, "Nervousness: Its Causes, Treatment, and Prevention" (Little, Brown; $1.25), which Dr. L. E. Emerson contributes to the Mind and Health Series, the author insists that "the essence of all functional disturbances lies in the fact that the one who suffers from them does so because he is unable to cope with a given situation, either because he is ignorant, or because he is weak, or because he is both weak and ignorant." Hence the only hope of a lasting cure lies in "mental readjustment." "The patient needs to be enlightened as to the psychic aspect of his symptoms, their psychic cause itself has to be overcome, and training must then follow to insure healthful thinking in general. Literally the patient's mind has to be changed before he can be certain of remaining nervously well." To the statement of general rules for this "psychic rëeducation" the author adds descriptions of cases from his own clinical experience and of results actually obtained in the treatment of nervous insomnia, nervous indigestion, nervous dread, and other nervous functional disorders. Also dealing with nerves, though in a more restricted relation, is Annie Payson Call's latest book, "Nerves and the War" (Little, Brown; $1.25). The lesson principally insisted upon by the author is that "You cannot manage a German until you have managed your nerves," for "nerves are the channel over which a man's energy travels. Therefore the true management of nerves is literally the true management of the whole man—by himself. . . ." For the acquisition of this self-management, or self-control, two rules of conduct are, we are told, of prime importance: "To rest while off duty, and to concentrate to the elimination of everything except the particular duty at hand at other times." The book contains, among other interesting matter, a chapter on shell-shock, and another rather curious one on "The Will to Use the Bayonet." A little book with a similar title to that of Miss Call's work is Dr. Herbert J. Hall's "War-time Nerves" (Houghton Mifflin; $1 net). It deals more with nervousness in general than the specific phase of war nerves, and contains much practical advice on the treatment of over-strain through the agency of hand-weaving and other simple arts and crafts.

IN the first chapter of "How to Speak with the Dead" (Dutton; $1.50) "Sciens" undertakes to prove that the human soul survives after death. His "proofs" are largely based upon the very debatable assumption that science admits three fundamental facts, namely: (1) The existence, in this world, of human souls as well as human bodies. (2) The existence of such souls and bodies as separate entities. (3) The possibility of souls continuing to exist when separated from human bodies. From this he passes in subsequent chapters to a discussion, along conventional lines, of telepathy and kindred phenomena, and of the best methods of communicating with discarnate spirits. As regards the present condition of spirits, he holds that they remain for a time on earth, and usually in the neighborhood of their friends. At the termination of this period he is inclined to believe that they undergo reincarnation, thus differing from the many writers who maintain that spirits progress to higher spheres after a term of preparation and instruction. There is little or nothing new in the book, which, however, contains a clear and lucid statement of modern Spiritualistic theory, together with practical information on the conduct of séances with and without mediums.

IN the appraisal of John Wesley's services to mankind that opens Mr. John Alfred Faulkner's book, "Wesley as Sociologist, Theologian, Churchman" (Methodist Book Concern; 75 cents), we are told that Wesley was not a social reformer in the same sense that he was a religious, theological, and moral reformer. "His work was not to change laws or institutions, but to change men." Socially he stood for the *status quo*. Nor yet, the author continues, was he a theologian in the sense that Calvin, Hodge, or William B. Pope was a theologian, "but he was a theologian in the sense of being interested in theological discussions, of being at home in them, and in being deeply concerned in theological truth." In his illuminating chapter on Wesley as a churchman, Mr. Faulkner says that the relation of John Wesley and early Methodism to the Church of England is one of the disputed questions of church history." There is no doubt, we are told, that before his conversion in 1738 Wesley was an ardent high churchman. After his conversion, of course, "his religious convictions changed instantaneously, and his high-church theology was cut up by the roots." In three appendices are given the Erasmus-Wesley ordination story, a letter on the separation of the Methodists from the Church of England, and some remarks made by the Rev. Arthur W. Little to the author on the subject of Coke's ordination.

MR. S. COULING, compiler of the *Encyclopaedia Sinica*, hopes to issue a new sinological review in China, beginning in February next. It will contain papers on the Art, Archæology, History, Religions, Literature, Language, and Natural History of China, and contributions have already been promised by some of the best writers on these subjects, including Professors Henri Cordier, H. A. Giles, and E. H. Parker, Messrs. C. W. Campbell, R. L. Hobson, and L. C. Hopkins, Dr. Lionel Giles, Rev. A. C. Moule, and others in Europe, while well-known writers in America and China are also expected to contribute. The Review will be issued monthly or else a double number of pages bi-monthly. It can be begun and continued only if subscriptions cover expenses. Mr. Couling will therefore be glad to hear at once from all those who will support the venture for the first year, the subscription being fixed at $9 Mex. or 30/ sterling post free, payable in advance after receipt of No. 1. Promises to subscribe should be sent to Mr. S. Couling, Shanghai, China.

OF wide interest and varied appeal are the papers collected in Volume XXXV of the Second Series of the "Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom"

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(Oxford University Press; $2.40). The subjects range from Italian literature through Hindustani drama, the cult of Spanish Góngorism, and a consideration of the work of the Belgian poet Emile Verhaeren. "The Romantic Age in Italian Literature" with its discussion by Dr. Antonio Cippico of the romantic element in Parini, Alfieri, and other eighteenth century poets, is an illuminating pendant to the Reverend Montague Summer's study of "A Great Mistress of Romance: Anne Radcliffe," in which the quiet young Englishwoman who thrilled the imagination and chilled the marrow with those strange, romantic tales, "The Sicilian Romance," "The Mysteries of Udolpho," and "The Italian," is more seriously considered than is usual to-day. Her influence on her contemporaries—satirized by Jane Austen in "Northanger Abbey"—was hardly less great than on her nineteenth-century successors, such as Balzac in France, Bulwer-Lytton in England, and Charles Brockden Brown in America, if we are to accept the estimate of this eulogist who has studied the *macabre* element in all literatures from the Greek and Roman tragedies through the mediæval Towneley and Coventry plays to the eighteenth-century romance. Drama receives its due share of attention in A. Yusuf Ali's study of "The Modern Hindustani Drama." The influence of the purely religious Hindu play, recalling that stage of development represented by the European mysteries and miracles, and the influence of the Folk plays—comic sketches that may ultimately develop into an Indian comedy of manners—are rated as the strongest factors for an original Hindustani drama. In "Currents of English Drama in the Eighteenth Century" Arthur Eustace Morgan traces in scholarly fashion the growth of the English comedy of manners and of sentimental comedy, and points out how farce gradually encroached upon the field of pure comedy on the English stage.

IN view of the rising interest in public health and the growing tendency to introduce courses in this subject in schools of nursing and home economics and even in institutes of technology and academic colleges, a satisfactory elementary textbook on hygiene and sanitation for mature students has been sorely needed. There are several good grade and high school books and there are excellent works for the medical student, but the gap between has remained for Jean Broadhurst to fill, in "Home and Community Hygiene" (Lippincott; $2). Professor Broadhurst has produced an admirable text covering all the chief phases of public-health work, water supply, food supply, waste disposal, ventilation, control of communicable disease, infant welfare, tuberculosis, health administration, and the like. Her grasp of the subject matter is thoroughly sound and up-to-date and the balance between various topics is, in the main, exceptionally well preserved. The standpoint is primarily that of the person interested in the immediate problems of protecting the health of the household. For a textbook in schools of nursing and home economics the book as a whole is infinitely superior to any other work in the field. The twenty-six chapters are worked out as independent units which may be assigned in any order desired by the teacher, and each chapter closes with a series of problems in accord with the spirit of modern pedagogy. The present volume is profusely and exceedingly well illustrated, but is handicapped, as is unfortunately the case with the rest of Lippincott's Home Manuals series, by a lurid and unsightly cover.

IN addition to his professional activities, the army medical officer is confronted with an extensive range of administrative duties, more or less peculiar to the military service. These may be the housing, feeding, and training of an ambulance company and the care of its motor-trucks, or its horses and mules, or the transportation of sick and wounded, or the entire detail of the equipment and administration of a hospital of 2,000 beds. The young medical officer will find himself largely occupied with some phase of these or other problems of administration. Colonel Joseph H. Ford's "Details of Military Medical Administration" (Blakiston) aims to aid him in meeting these problems. It is minutely specific in its instructions and contains an abundance of concrete examples of schedules of duties and orders to be used in handling the various types of organizations. The methods developed in the present war are well described in highly interesting chapters, and a chapter is introduced on the methods and regulations of the Public Health Service. The work will serve as a useful book of reference, especially for the beginner in medical military work.

THE joint authors of "Profit Sharing: Its Principles and Practice" (Harper; $2.50 net), A. W. Burritt, H. S. Dennison, E. F. Gay, R. E. Heilman, and H. P. Kendall, have pooled their thought and experience on a subject that has aroused profound interest of late. Style is sacrificed to utility; it is a book written in unmistakable terms, covering the chief aspects of the problem, and summarizing at the end of each chapter the experience and opinions of those by whom profit sharing has been practiced. The aim is "to mark out the proper scope of profit sharing, to determine the limits, if any, within which it is practicable, and to discover the results which may be expected from its use, as well as the most effective method of utilizing the profit-sharing principle." For the most part the book proceeds by devoting separate chapters to the purposes which are or may be hoped for, and the study of experience points out the measure of success which has been achieved and gives the reasons. What is said about the relations of capital and labor when complicated with profit sharing should not affect a judgment of its value by the unprejudiced. One of the hardest specific questions that arise in the application of the profit-sharing principle relates to the method of compensation. It appears that no method is uniformly applicable, but a study of the book would probably suggest a method suitable for a given business, and at least warn against various difficulties. The method of discussion and a good index increase the ease with which the book's mertis can be appropriated.

Art

Philadelphia Shows the Way

THE water colors at the Pennsylvania Academy in Philadelphia are unusually well hung, with the result that the Club's annual exhibition has this year an unusual air of distinction. The average may not be much higher than at the New York Water Color Club. Many of the same exhibitors may figure in both shows. But the advantage at the Pennsylvania Academy is that the exceptions run no risk of remaining hidden. Brilliant impressions like those by Francis McComas are the more brilliant for being hung together. He sees the west as no other artist sees it—the West of cliffs and cliff-dwellers, of dazzling light, vivid color, and deep purple shadows, of luminous skies and soft floating clouds—and he puts it all down in his own fashion, though the fashion begins to degenerate into a formula. Even in this small group the same cloud floats through more than one of the drawings, the same shadow falls with the same purple splendor on the cliffs. If he is not careful, he will presently be as governed by formula as Birger Sandzen, whose rocks and pines suggest more concern for recipe than observation of Nature. On the other hand, such quiet water colors as M. W. Zimmerman's tell the more for being scattered and framed in by prints and drawings. Zimmerman, too, has his formula, a pleasant formula of low tones and tranquil effects; a Japanese temple, a camp in the woods, a house in a Philadelphia street, all steeped for him in the same blue and violet and gray peace of a world where Nature has a small part to play. Each is charming when seen apart; hung together their mannerism is one that might make for monotony.

There is more observation in Henry McCarter's frankly conventional designs. His intention is decorative, but he varies color and treatment to suit his every theme; the harmony of blue and green, brought together by one tender note of rose, in "The King of Tara," is as different as possible from the golden glow which appropriately suffuses his "Lust of Gold," and this again differs essentially from the cool purples of "The Procession of the Kings." The hanging has also helped to emphasize the distinction of Walter Griffin's pastels, little notes for his paintings; the truth in H. Giles's impressions of sea and sky, light, and shadow; the endeavor in Paul Froelich's studies of nude and draped figures to solve a problem for himself.

In the black-and-white much is shown that has been shown before, but the familiar Forains and Steinlens, lent by Mr. Gallatin, cannot be shown too often, though Glackens, for one, may regret the chance that has hung him with them. No less familiar are many etchings—Brangwyn, Bauer, Lepère, McBey, White, and MacLaughlan all being represented. But it is a pleasure to come again upon two of the early plates by C. Harry

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White, to compare them with the more ambitious plates by Shaw and MacLaughlan, to note how White, staying quietly at home and studying the life about him, managed to fill his with character, as MacLaughlan never succeeded in doing, though he spent years in Italy in search of it. Known too are the wood engravings by Timothy Cole, but they are eloquent reminders of how high our magazine standard once was. Of the new work that appears with the old the portraits are among the best; strong charcoal heads by Leopold Seyfert; amusing studies in line and wash, full of individuality, by Carl Erickson; drawings in red chalk by Violet Oakley, in chalk and silver paint by Philip Hale; vivacious half-length of a woman by McLure Hamilton, vigorous charcoal studies of Hamilton himself, and of Joseph Pennell by Walter Taylor, who sends, besides, several of those drawings by which he strives, with few to assist him, to carry on the fine traditions of American illustration.

When all is said, however, interest centres about the work of which the war has been the inspiration. This is because the work is by both British and American artists, and not only their methods, but the uses made of their designs by their respective Governments can be compared. The British artists were commissioned by the British authorities, and their selection was due to their reputation as artists, or in several cases to their practical knowledge of lithography, the medium chosen for the series. When this fact is considered, the prints will perhaps seem disappointing. It is true that Muirhead Bane's imagination has been more stirred in the shipyards than at the front; that Eric Kennington's soldiers, hard as they are in drawing, have character; that A. S. Hartrick's women war workers are genuine types; that E. J. Sullivan's "Reign of Justice" would be impressive if he had not printed it in color, which was never his strong point. But it is extraordinary to see how real are Brangwyn's sailors and Clausen's workshops, how empty are the allegories of Ricketts and Shannon, and how completely the affectations of Augustus John reveal themselves in the allegorical figure, so hopelessly out of drawing in his "Dawn," and the neatly-hewn allegorical ruins of war. Still, the series is, in its way, an artistic record representative of British art; and the Government, having ordered the prints and paid the artists for them, took good care that they should be seen not only at home, but in Allied countries.

Our Government also has recognized the value of art for propaganda purposes, but it has commissioned only the artists sent, with officer's rank, overseas. Those whose posters have been so extensively distributed for the Liberty loan drives and the Emergency Fleet Corporation were not selected by the Government, but may be said to have selected themselves, submitting the work to the committee in charge. The artists were not paid for their services. The American artists exhibiting at the Academy do not, like the British, form an official group. Each sends for himself: Joseph Pennell, his posters and munition and shipyard lithographs; Thornton Oakley, his series at Hog Island; Herbert Pullinger, his etchings, water colors, and lithographs; Jonas Lie and James Dougherty, the two posters that have became such a familiar feature of our streets, and that might have been a more effective feature had the artists known more of the technique of lithography, or indeed understood the art of drawing in color for reproduction as well as C. B. Falls and H. Davitt Walsh, whose work, if for very different uses, shows the value of a few simple flat tones, well spaced and well balanced, in a design done for printing in color.

The Pennsylvania Society of Miniature Painters, exhibiting apart in one of the galleries, have hung their collection so well as to lessen the tedium of looking at miniatures, however admirable in themselves, when so many are seen together. The work done at the Pennsylvania Summer School fills other galleries. It marks so distinct an advance on last year's that it is a pity to make of it what must necessarily seem a mere sideshow in a large and important exhibition. N. N.

Amusements

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Drama

"The Little Brother"

ONE of the most notable plays that have recently come to us from London is "The Little Brother," by Milton Goldsmith and Benedict James, which has been presented at the Belmont Theatre. Although plainly Hebraic in spirit and motive, it is in no way provocative of religious controversy, but is written along the lines of the broadest ethical principles. It is at once a striking exposition of the savagery of credal prejudice and bigotry and of the power of brotherly love and toleration. At this time it is peculiarly apposite and could scarcely fail to command wide attention if the general execution of it were worthy of the main design. Unfortunately it is of terribly uneven quality. In its serious passages it is uncommonly effective, in spite of the triteness of the subject, but the "comic relief," of which there is a great excess, is wholly conventional, irrelevant, and tiresome. The plot, if not very skilfully handled, is ingenious for its purpose. A more forcible illustration of the possible consequences of racial and religious prejudice could not easily be imagined. Rabbi Elkan, the beloved pastor of an East Side flock, is a model of affectionate benevolence and self-denial, but of the severest orthodoxy. He has but two wishes in life, one, the marriage of his idolized daughter Judith, to a fitting scion of the chosen people, and the other the recovery of the little brother, whom he believes to have survived the massacre of the rest of his family in a Russian pogrom years before. Suddenly his peace is shattered by the discovery that Judith has secretly wedded a young Christian, George Lubin, the ward of Father Petrovitch, a Russian priest of evil notoriety as one of the most zealous advocates of Jewish persecution. Against Petrovitch Elkan has launched his most solemn curse and yet these two men, both equally sincere, but inspired by the bitterest of antagonism, become unwilling allies in the persecution of the rebellious lovers. Between them occur scenes of fierce mutual recrimination which are excellent as studies of character and of stirring dramatic value.

Without entering upon minor details, which are not always judicious, it is sufficient to say here that, in the end, Father Petrovitch is identified as the missing "little brother," and learns, to his own dismay and horror, that he is a Jew, and that his hands are red with the blood of the race, from which he has become, involuntarily and unconsciously, an apostate. The situation, if brought about by somewhat conventional and awkward means, is indisputably poignant and is not impossible. The two men, bound to each other by the strongest natural ties, find themselves separated by a gulf which can only be bridged at the cost of conscience and conviction. The dilemma is insoluble save by an almost inconceivable oblivion. It is dealt with by the dramatists adroitly and impartially. The Jew—whose faith it may be observed is not in question—offers forgiveness and fellowship, but the broken priest, while answering to the call of human affection, realizes the obstacles to perfect reconciliation, and sorrowfully makes farewell, impulsively kneeling, however, to receive his brother's patriarchal blessing. Then, as he slowly withdraws, he raises his hand and, in his turn, bestows the sacerdotal benediction. The tableau is dignified, and not without significance.

Broadly speaking, the play is a plea and a strong one, for tolerance between Jew and Gentile. For those who look for it there may be a wider application. The embodiment of the Rabbi by Walker Whiteside is comparable, in its artistic finish and sympathetic eloquence, with the very finest achievements of the modern stage, and Tyrone Power, as the fanatical priest, acquits himself with great distinction in a very difficult part. Mabel Bunyea also plays Judith very naturally and cleverly. The other actors do what they have to do well enough, but much of it would better have been left undone. The responsibility for that rests with the dramatists.—J. R. T.

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Finance

Relaxing Money Market Restrictions

ACTION by the New York Money Pool Committee in relaxing the regulations controlling the lending of money upon the pledge of collateral securities marks the first step by New York bankers toward removing the barriers against speculative loans. The new rules exclude from the limit of loans for which a broker can apply that proportion of his credits which are based upon the security of bonds and short-term notes, as distinguished from stocks. This is an important provision. While it will not result in enlarging the supply of money available to support stock-market speculation, it will be of great assistance to the bond dealers and investment houses which are accustomed to see an active market for bonds in the closing days of the year.

The new rules will make it easier, too, for the members of the stock exchange to secure the funds required to finance the routine business that they have to handle in all markets. The Money Pool Committee has had the situation well in hand since it set out months ago to regulate the lending of money by New York banks upon the pledge of speculative securities. This action was extraordinary but it was justified as an emergency measure at a time when the Government was borrowing heavily from the market through sales of Liberty Bonds and Treasury certificates of indebtedness. If these advances were to be financed and if the Government was to continue to be the "preferred borrower," it was necessary for the banks to curtail loans to non-essential industries and to make provision for semi-monthly investments amounting to 2½ per cent. of their gross resources in Treasury certificates of indebtedness. The Federal Reserve Board last April, in urging the banks to curtail unnecessary credits, pointed out that "that credit conservation is necessary not only for Government financing, but also for the protection and preservation of the banks themselves, individually and collectively, since undue expansion of bank credits leads inevitably to unsafe and unsound economic conditions, and no stone should be left unturned to keep our banking institutions strong and sound."

This was followed on July 8 by the letter of Governor Harding of the Federal Reserve Board asking officers of the various federal reserve banks to organize within their districts groups of bankers and business men for a frank discussion of the best means of curtailing credits to non-essential industries. The letter had a profound effect upon the business community and was discussed widely. After reciting the various steps taken to conserve credits Governor Harding said:

"An unnecessary use of credit, a needless recourse to the discounting facilities of the federal reserve banks, weakens proportionately the gold reserve of the United States—the financial back-bone of the entire Allied group. Whoever wastes the raw material and manufactured products of the country adds to our financial burdens by increasing the amount the United States must import from other countries and by decreasing, at the same time, the volume of goods that should be available for export purposes—the best means of paying for goods acquired from abroad."

This brought the nation face to face with the need of systematically curtailing credits and limiting loans to non-essential and non-productive enterprises and for purposes of speculation. The New York committee, which was formed at the time that the First Liberty Loan was floated in June, 1917, took various measures to curtail loans to borrowers upon speculative collateral, and finally limited the amount which could be borrowed by each stock-exchange house. On October 25 Governor Strong of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York announced that borrowers upon stock collateral would be asked to maintain a margin of 30 per cent. instead of 20 per cent. on their bank borrowings.

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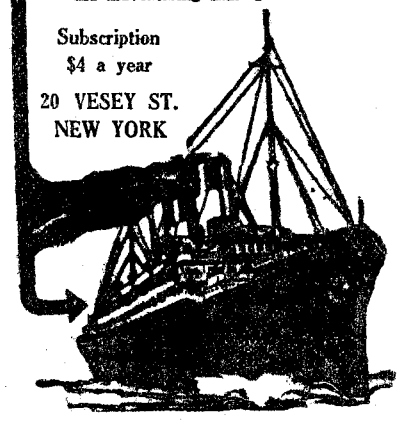

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Your Rights on Trial

A COURT trial that will become famous in the annals of American history has started in Chicago.

Stripped bare of all side issues, it is fundamentally a struggle at the bar of justice to maintain basic American liberties; your right to think, to speak, to read, freely.

It is not extraordinary that this trial should be that of the American Socialist Party and its national officials. Socialism is the trial blazer of progress in all civilized lands. As such it bears the brunt of every attack directed against a pioneering bovement.

When the great war came to the United States, the national officials of the Socialist Party remained firm in the belief that the American constitution would live thru every crisis; that our revolutionary forefathers ment what they said when they wrote: "Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of people peaceably to assemble."

Were these Socialist spokesmen mistaken? Are your rights of discussion, so ruthlessly trodden underfoot by the war censorship, to remain longer prostrate? Or, will the dark past be in part atoned for, NOW, by the immediate restoration of those rights, and reparation made to those who have suffered or are suffering for having espoused those rights.

Struggling for the instant and unconditional return of our liberties, in Federal Judge Landis' courtroom in Chicago, are:

Victor L. Berger, Socialist Congressman-elect from Wisconsin, editor of the Milwaukee Leader, the Socialist daily, and a member of the Socialist Party national executive committee.

Adolph Germer, national executive secretary of the Socialist Party.

J. Louis Engdahl, who edited the suppressed "American Socialist," the official weekly publication of the national Socialist Party.

William F. Kruse, director of the National Young People's Socialistic League, and editor of the Young Socialists' Magazine, a monthly.

Irwin St. John Tucker, former head of the national Socialist Party literature department.

Every activity of the national Socialist movement of this country was therefore attacked in the indictment of these officials, now on trial, ten months after charges were preferred against them. The alleged crimes charged against them are based on what might have been in their minds, what they wrote and what they spoke.

Every power of organized reaction is being used in the effort to put them in prison for exercising long established American liberties. If they are confined in a felon's cell, free speech, free assemblage and a free press will accompany them as fellow prisoners. If you treasure your rights, therefore, you will do all in your power to see that these treasured liberties of yours are given a fair and just hearing in court.

Raise your voice and make Congress hear your demand that all wartime censorship of free expression be abolished; that all political prisoners be immediately freed; that all prosecution of American radicals because of their opinions be stopped.

The national Socialist Party, thru its membership consisting almost exclusively of working men and women, toiling for a daily wage, has carried, and still continues to bear much of the burden of the struggle in defense of our liberties. Only thru the unrestricted exercise of these rights can a working class movement make peaceful progress. Many have been the lower court trials and the appeals to higher tribunals, the expenses of which have been borne by the workers, politically organized into the Socialist Party.

In addition, therefore, to giving your moral assistance to achieve freedom's restoration, you can aid mightily in the Chicago trial by sending a liberal financial contribution to Oliver C. Wilson, Director, National Liberty Defense Fund, Socialist Party, Room 405, 803 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

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